IN TOUCH WITH

UJJAIN

BY

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PREFACE.

IN the ancient history of India, Ujjain occupied, if not the foremost, at least, a most conspicuous place. Nature ordained that this city of light, with a climate temperate and salubrious and soil very fertile, should play an important part. It was here that the dramas of Bhasa and Shudraka, came to be acted first. Jainism and Buddhism, though born elsewhere, received their garbs at Ujjain. The important role which the Vedic religion played here is well-known to history. The sun of Ujjain's glory was at his meridian during the rule of Raja Vikramaditya, but following the universal law of nature he turned his course down towards the horizon. With the loot of the city by Altamash in 1235, though the glory of the city departed long ago, and though now it happens to be no more the living centre of Hindu religion and Hindu literature, the name of Ujjain is still inseparably bound up with the golden age of Sanskrit literature and to travellers, who come here from all parts of India and from abroad, Ujjain of to-day is still the Awantika of Vikramaditya and Kalidasa.

The history of Ujjain means a retrospect of sixty centuries and is seen to trace itself far back through the depths of antiquity. The solid ground of history, upon which we can safely tread, begins however with the conquest of Ujjain by Bindusar in 286 B. C. Information of events earlier than this, in the absence of any historical data, we have to glean from various sources and many a time to connect the results of our observations with probabilities only. For, where history itself presents a blank page, the process of probable reasoning is our only guide to help us to link the obscure past with the historical present.

Our knowledge of the past is dim and vague. We know of many inroads of Mahomedans, we can trace the line of Moghul rulers from Babar down to Mohamadshah, we can tell with certainty when and by whom the Tajmahal of Agra was built; but we cannot definitely tell who founded the Shaka era, why the Malava era came to be called Vikrama Samwat, what relation existed between Gandharvasen and his descendant Vikramaditya and when did the first observatory of Ujjain see the light of the day. We have no apology to offer for this ignorance of the history of the land we call our own.

That there is need for a popular work giving the concise history and other necessary and interesting

information regarding this ancient town of fame with a view to guide the curious visitor, will not, we trust, be denied. But the task of compiling a connected and authentic history with meagre materials largely consisting of legends, traditions and folklores which are sometimes inconsistent with themselves require great leisure, and extensive reading. Leisure I have enough. To extensive reading I have no claim. Study of Buddhist and Jain literature supplemented by the study of the ancient histories of India and the accounts of travels written by foreigners enabled me however to glean the leading facts and to digest them in the present form as well as I could. The work, such as it is, is now placed in the hands of my indulgent sisters and brothers for whom it is intended.

For a loan of old and rare books, I had to crave the indulgence of my esteemed friend Sardar Bala Sahib Shitole of Gwalior and I am glad to note that he did not grudge to lend me a helping hand. For this, my sincere thanks are due to him.

I feel great pleasure in placing here on record the valuable help I received from Mr. C. V. Vaidya, M. A., LL. B., the well-known worker in the field of ancient history and Sanskrit literature. I really find no words to express my deep sense of obligation to

him for all the pains he took in going through the manuscript and letting me have the benefit of his valuable suggestions.

Next, I have to place on record my sincere thanks to Dr. H. R. Divekar, M. A., D. Litt., Head Master, V. C. High School, Gwalior, and to Professor N. B. Paradkar, M. A., of Madhava College, Ujjain, who have had a willing hand in the making of the book.

And, lastly, my thanks are due to Mr. Y. T. Mangaokar, Manager, Alijah Darbar Press, Gwalior, for the pains he took in seeing the work through the press.

1st January, 1935.

KESHAV RAO B. DONGRAY.

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His Highness Maharaja Jeewaji Rao Scindia.

IN TOUCH WITH UJJAIN.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

UJJAINI, modern Ujjain, is a city situated on the east bank of the river Sipra, in the country of Malavas, otherwise known as Malwa. This tract of the country, in olden times, went by the name of Avanti. This name too, the country received from the town Awanti, which means the 'Protecting City' and which was founded by Haihayas some 1,200 years before the Mahabharata war. Malwa, as we now find it, is bounded on the north by Rajputana and the greater part of Central India; on the east by Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand, on the south by the range of the Vindhya mountains and by the Rewa—a river which men of these times call Narmada—which rushes on its course through the narrow passes of the Vindhya and Satpura ranges; and on the west by Gujarath and the southern portion of Rajputana.

The southern portion of Malwa as situated on the table-land of the Vindhya range is about 2,000 ft. above the sea-level, and this height from the sea gradually lessens as the country slopes on and on to the north.

In the heart of this country, or rather in the centre of the whole peninsula of India, at a height of 1,679 feet, above the sea-level is situated Ujjain, a city of ancient fame. In Sanskrit literature, we find several names of the town, such as Ujjaini, Ujjayini, Avantika, Vishala, Kushasthali, Padmawati, Kanakshringa, Kumudwati and Amarawati. Ptolemy called it Ozene. To Greeks and Romans, it was known as Urain. The Chinese referred to it as Wu-she-yen-na which afterwards changed to Ujayana.

The city, being the centre of the country was the place, where scientific mathematical astronomy was first evolved. The Indian students of astronomy fixed their meridian here in relation to other places for the purpose of their astronomical calculations, as at present, this position has been assigned to Greenwich. Western scholars of astronomy have fixed their first meridian there, and Ujjain now finds its place in the hemisphere on 75°-50′ east longitude and 23°-10′ north latitude.

Yuan Chwang, a Chinese traveller, who visited Ujjain in 641 A.D. describes Wu-she-yen-na or Ujayana as being about 30 li in circuit. A little over 4 li being equal to one mile, the circumference of the city at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit was between 7 and 8 miles. The modern town of Ujjain is rectangular in shape and covers an area of about three square miles. Its length from north to south is two miles, and its breadth from east to west is one mile and a half. It is surrounded by a strong wall, provided at various places with gates, the greater portion of which, is now in a ruined condition. Some ascribe the construction of this wall to Vikramaditya and others to some Mohammedan Governor of Malwa. But neither of these statements is based on facts.

The climate is temperate. It is neither exceedingly hot nor exceedingly cold. In the hot season, the temperature usually varies from 90° to 106° and sometimes rises up to 112°, and in the cold season it ranges from 60° to 42° and sometimes goes down as low as 35.° In May and June, though it is very hot during the day, the nights are proverbially very cool. Malwa nights are famous for being pleasant. Common parlance speaks of 'the dawn of Benares, the evening of Oudh, the night of Malwa', and the

saying is true, so far as Malwa nights are concerned, even to-day.

The average rainfall is 32 inches. But the soil being fertile, even 25 inches of timely rain is enough for agricultural purposes.

Ujjain and the country around it, between the Chambal and the Narmada, was in ancient times, inhabited by a tribe whom Abul Fazal in his Ain-i-Akbari, calls 'Nihaya,' and the Cambridge history of India calls 'Haihayas.' We are unable to say whether Haihayas and Nihayas are one and the same. Both the historians however believe them to be the descendents of Yadu and Prof. Wilson connects them with Hunas. According to Vishnu Puran, the Avantas, Ashmakas and Vitihotras were the descendents of Yadu race and they inhabited this country probably before the 7th century B. C. They interdined, intermarried and so intermixed that they could not be distinguished from one another and in the course of time, the whole tribe acquired the name of Avantas.

The present population of Ujjain is made up of the descendents of many diverse races that settled here from time to time. In appearance, they greatly resemble the inhabitants of Gujarath, but in fact they came from different parts of the country. In

the course of time, those diverse races got so intermixed and confounded, that it is now very difficult to say where one variety ends and the other begins.

The census of 1931 gives us the figure of 55,000 as the present population of the town, of which, the Hindus including the Jains are 39,000 and the Mohammedans are 15,000. The Hindu population mostly consists of Brahmins, Baniyas, Rajputs, Malees, Balais and Chamars; while the Kayasthas and Marathas are very few in number. Among the Mohammedans, Boharas, Pathans and Shaikhs are in majority. Prominent among Brahmins are Audeechas, and Gours. The Audeechas have come here from the north, and the Gours, locally known as Gujar Gours, from Gujarath. These Gujar Gours differ from the local Gours as the latter are included among the *Chhenatees while the former are not. The occupation of Audeecha and Gujar Gours is not definite. They are non-cultivating proprietors of land. They are priests and ministers of religion. They serve as guides to pilgrims and are also engaged in public and domestic services. They speak both Hindi and Gujarathi.

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*Chhenatees—Dadhiet, Shaikhwals, Saraswat, Gour, Parith and Khandelwals are collectively so called.

The Maharashtra Brahmins came to Ujjain from the Deccan and also from Konkan in the 18th century with their Maratha Princes Ranoji and Mahadji. They were engaged in civil and military services in Scindia's camp. With the change of capital from Ujjain, many of them went to Gwalior and some of them migrated to other places. Their population has, at present, dwindled down to less than 1,000. Among themselves, they speak Marathi. They are all literate and are mostly engaged in clerical services. The total of the Brahmin population of all classes comes to something like 7,000.

The Baniyas of Ujjain are either Agarwals, Oswals, Khandelwals or Mahesaries. They are generally bankers, money-brokers and retail shopkeepers. They are not very old settlers. They have come to Ujjain either from Gujarath, some three centuries ago, or from Marwar at a later date. They are either Jains or Vaishnawas, but by far the greater number is of the former. They are 6,000 in all and their spoken language is either Gujarathi or Hindi.

The Rajputs are the oldest inhabitants. Pococke in his 'India in Greece' traces their descent from Awantas or Abantas who took part in 'Trojan War'. Most of them now belong to serving or

labouring class and their total population is 5,000. The aggregate number of Malees, Balais and Chamars comes to eight thousand. The Malees belong to cultivating class, while the Balais and Chamars are mostly labourers. The Marhattas, like Maharashtra Brahmins, came to Ujjain with Ranoji and Mahadji Scindia. They came in thousands, but now they are scarcely one thousand. They are generally in military, police and domestic services.

Among Mohammedans, Boharas are the most predominant. They are engaged in every species of commerce. They are wholesale merchants as well as pedlars. They came to Ujjain from the sea-coast of Gujarath. Wherever they go, they form a distinct colony of their own. There are two such colonies at Ujjain—one at Kharakua and another at Sabzimandi. The word 'Bohara' is derived from the Hindi word 'Byohar' which means business. Their population at Ujjain is a little over 3,000. Among themselves, they speak Gujarathi, but they know and speak Hindi as well. Other Mohammedans came to Ujjain for the first time in the 12th century with Sultan Altamash of Delhi, and since then, from time to time, to the end of 18th century, a stream of Muslim immigrants flowed into the town. Among them, Shaikhas and Pathans are in majority. The former are 5,000 and the latter are a little over

3,000. Their occupations are manifold. Some are Chhipas, who print various designs on cloth. Some are shopkeepers and some are shoemakers. Some are also engaged in public and domestic services. The butchers and hamals are exclusively Mohammedans.

Of the total population, 30,000 are actual workers and the remaining, their non-working dependents. Thirty, out of every hundred males and nine out of every hundred females are literate, if by literate we mean persons, who know the three R's. Literacy does not hold a high place here.

CHAPTER II.

A PEEP THROUGH THE AGES.

UJJAIN boasts a most remote antiquity. From time immemorial, it has been renowned as the very centre of Aryan civilization and Aryan culture and was once very famous as a seat of learning. It was here that Shri Krishna and his brother learned Vedas, Vedant philosophy and archery. Its mention is made in almost all the sacred books of India. It is mentioned by Ptolemy and by the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea. It has perhaps more undoubted claims to remote antiquity than any ancient city in India.

But the earlier history of Ujjain of the time, before the conquest of the town by Bindusar of the Maurya dynasty, which took place in 286 B. C., is shrouded with mist in which chronological facts are vaguely fixed by centuries.

In this chapter, we propose to put together, the more or less complete sequence of chronological data, collected by the labours of research scholars and the information we gathered from various

sources, and to base our conclusions on the corresponding and corroborating circumstances which are, where historical records are silent, the best foundation on which probability can be based.

The traditional belief is that Ujjain is co-eval with the existence of the world. In Skanda-Purana, various names of this city are given and one of them is 'Prati-Kalpa' which means that the city has been in existence even since the beginning of the world. But, this mention can only go to prove, if it proves anything at all, that it is one of the oldest towns in India and it has had its existence long before the historical times.

The name of Ujjain finds no place in the 'Vedas,' but this omission is not a conclusive evidence of its non-existence at the time of the compilation of the 'Vedas.' For the 'Rishis' of old, during the compilation of the 'Vedas' came from Hindukush in the north and reached only as far as Bramhavarta (Bithur). They did not cross the Chambal, nor did they make mention of any town in the Deccan or Central India.

In the Kishkindha Kanda of Ramayana, mention of Avanti is made when Sugriva gives directions to monkeys as to the path by which they should go in search of 'Sita Devi'. But the geographical

description of India, coming from the mouth of Sugriva, seems to be an interpolation in the Ramayana. It describes India from a centre somewhere about Kurukshetra and not from Kishkindha which is to the south of the Krishna river. Thus the Godawari, the Nurmada and Ujjain being to the north of Kishkindha should have been mentioned as being in the way of those monkeys who were sent to the north; while they are mentioned here as lying in the path of those who would go to the south. This mention of Ujjain in Ramayana* has therefore no historical value and cannot be construed as an evidence of Ujjain being as old as the days of Rama.

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* तेषामग्रे सरं चैव बृहद्दलमथांगदम्
विधाय हरिवीराणामादिशद्दक्षिणां दिशम् ॥
ये केचन समुद्देशास्तस्यां दिशि सुदुर्गमाः
स तेषां कपिमुख्यानां कपीशः समुदाहरत्
सहस्रशिरसं विंध्यं नानाद्रुमलतायुतम्
नर्मदां च नदीं रम्यां कृष्णां वेणीं महानदीम्
मेकलानुत्कलांश्चैव दशार्णनगराण्यपि
अब्रुवंतीमवंतींच सर्वमेवानुपश्यत
विदर्भानृष्टिकांश्चैव रम्यान्माहिषकानपि

Val. Ram. IV. 41. 6 to 10.

From the Puranas, we know that there was a very powerful king in Haihayas—the descendants of Yadu's son, Sahasrarjit—by name Arjuna Kartavirya. He had his capital at * Mahishmati—the modern Mandhata which was founded by one of his ancestors Mahishman. This city was attacked many times by Nagas, but while this powerful king was living, the Nagas could not wrest the stronghold of Mahishmati from him. But after his death, the Haihayas, being troubled by Nagas and Punyajanas (Rakshasas) coming from the east and south, left this place and Jayadhwaja, a son of Arjuna Kartavirya, climbing the Vindhyas, settled in the plains of Malwa where he founded a city and named it as † 'Awanti'—protector—because it saved him from the above-named inroads. This happened nearly 1,200 years before the Mahabharata war.

According to Vishnu Purana, Shurasena, the twelfth in descent from Yadu, married Mareesha and

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*Mahishmati. Some suppose Mahishmati as modern Maheswar but Kalidas calls Rewa as माहिष्मतीवप्रनितंबकांची in Raghuwansh VI-43 which is more fitted for Mandhata than for Maheswar.

†Ancient Indian historical traditions by F. E. Pargiter, p. 266. Bramhanda Purana III-45-1.

III-46-21 and 23.

" अवन्ती रक्षणात्मिका. "

he begot on her ten sons and five daughters, the youngest of whom Raja-dhee-devi was married to a king of Avanti. She had two sons—Vinda and Anuvinda,—and a daughter named Matrivinda. In Mahabharata, Udyoga Parva, a mention is made of these two princes. They took the side of Kaurawas although their sister Matrivinda was married to Shree-Krishna. Who this king of Avanti was, to whome Rajadhee-devi was married, we cannot say. But his sons, Vinda and Anuvinda, were undoubtedly contemporaries of Shree-Krishna. Again, Shree-Krishna and Pandawas cannot be separated from each other, for, without the wonderful personality of Shree-Krishna, the Mahabharata war would not have been what it is said to have been. This goes to prove that at the time of Mahabharata war, Avanti or Ujjain was ruled by the predecessor of Vinda and Anu-vinda.

The date of the Mahabharata war is a subject of great controversy. It varies from 3102 B.C. to 1197 B.C. According to the internal evidence in the Mahabharata itself, the war took place at the close of Dwaparayga and ended only three months before the advent of Kali-Yuga, as conceived by the Indian astronomers. The war ended in Marg-sheersha or December and by the end of March next, on the first of the bright half of Chaitra, Kali-Yuga began.

Mr. C.V.Vaidya, in his 'Upasanhara* of Mahabharat' and in his 'Mahabharat a Criticism'† on the support of the account given by Megasthenes and of the description given in 'Shatapatha-Brahmana' maintains that Kaliyuga began 3101 years before Christ. All the Indian astronomers, except Varaha Mihira, are one with him and therefore, according to Mr. Vaidya, the Mahabharata war which was synchronous with the beginning of Kaliyuga, took place in 3102 B.C.

The story of Shree-Krishna, as given in Bhagwata, corroborates what Mr. C. V. Vaidya asserts. It has now been admitted by all the research scholars, oriental as well as occidental, that Heracles of the Greek historian is no other than Hari Krishna or Shree-Krishna. The description of Heracles, given by Greek historians of India, who derived their information about the country at the court of Alexander and also from the now unfortunately lost work of Megasthenes, is quite enough to identify Heracles with Shree-Krishna. Mc Crindle,‡ on the authority of Megasthenes, says that from the time of Dionysus to Sandrakotas the Indians counted 153 kings and

*Upasanhar of Mahabharat by Mr. C. V. Vaidya, Pages 80 to 129.

†Mahabharat a Criticism by Mr. C. V. Vaidya, Book II, Chapter I.

‡Mc Crindle's Ancient India, Pages 201-204.

that Dionysus was earlier than Heracles by fifteen generations. He further says that Heracles was held in special honour by Shoorsena Indian tribes who possessed two large cities Mathura and Claisobora.* The late Lokamanya† B.G. Tilak identifies Dionysus with Daxinayana Manu and Heracles and Sandrakotas were undoubtedly Shree-Krishna and Chandragupta.

Since there were 153 generations from Dionysus to Chandragupta and Dionysus was fifteen generations earlier than Shree-Krishna, it follows that Shree-Krishna preceded Chandragupta by 138 generations. Taking twenty years as the average of each reign, we have an approximate period of 2,760 years, separating the two. Chandragupta's date is 312 B. C. Adding 2,760 to 312 we get 3072 B. C. as the approximate date of Shree-Krishna. It very nearly tallies with the date of the Mahabharata war given by Mr. C. V. Vaidya and we are therefore inclined to accept it. We do not however want to enter into this controversy. We are content to say that, Ujjain at the time of the Mahabharata war was ruled by a king of the family to which Vinda and Anu-vinda belonged.

*Claisobora or Klisobora—General Cunningham identifies it with Bindrawan. It was formerly called Krishnapura and the Greeks used to call it Claisobora.

† ऐतिहासिक लेख by Mr. C. V. Vaidya.

In the Dharma-Sutra* of Baudhayana, we come across a passage which means that the inhabitants of Avanti, of Anga, of Magadha, of Saurastra, etc., are of mixed origin. From Puranas we know that the sons of Talajangha, the son of Jayadhwaja, formed the race of Haihayas which was divided into Bhojas, Avantas, Vitihotras, and other classes. They were certainly Aryans, but they appear to have mixed with aboriginal non-Aryans. The time, when Baudhayana lived, is placed sometime between 1400 and 800 B. C.

Panini, the great Sanskrit grammarian, makes mention of Avanti in his 'Asta-dhyayi.'† The time, when Panini lived, is a subject where no two scholars agree. It ranges from 1000 B. C. to 300 B. C. Dr. Bhandarkar places him somewhere between 1000 and 500 B. C. Dr. Belwalkar places him before 700 B. C. The late Mr. Rajwade and Mr. C. V. Vaidya have come to the conclusion that

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*अवंतयोंगमगधाः सुराष्ट्रा दक्षिणापथाः
उपावृत्सिंधुसौवीरा एते संकीर्णयो नयः

Dharma-Sutra of Baudhayana, I-2-13.

†१. स्त्रीणामवंतिकुंतिकुरुभ्यश्च

२. अवन्त्यश्मक, etc.

Panini's Asta-dhyayi, Sutras IV-1-176 and VI-2-37.

Panini lived some three hundred years before the death of Gautama Budha which took place in 477 B. C. and by one century before the Parseekas ceased to be free-booters and founded a kingdom in Persia in 730 B. C. This places Panini in the eighth or ninth century B. C.

Mr. Pococke, in his 'India in Greece' tells us on the authority of Strabo, that the Avantas distinguished themselves in the Trojan war, and that Homer has nobly sung of their fame. He further says that Abantas were the splendid Rajput tribes of Avanti, or Ozene in the Province of Malwa. 'V' and 'B' are pronounced indifferently in India and consequently the 'Abantas' of the Trojan war were no doubt the 'Awantas,' the people of Awanti or Ujjain. The lines* in Homer which Mr. Pococke referred, are :—

"Enboea next her martial sons prepares.
And sends the brave Abantas to the wars."

The Trojan war took place about 1200 B. C.

Senajit of the Puru family, to which Dushyanta, Ajameedha, Jarasandha, and Brihadratha belonged, is said to have founded his kingdom at Awanti, and Mr. R. C. Datta places Senajit at

*See Pope's translation of Illiad Book, II.

the end of the twelfth and in the beginning of the eleventh century B.C. He assigns 1105 B.C. as the date of the foundation of the kingdom of Awanti. Senajeet and his fourteen descendants successively ruled at Ujjain. The last scion of his dynasty was Ripunjaya* who was assassinated in 527 B. C. by his minister Shunak who installed his own son Pradyota on the throne of Ujjain.

India, at this time, was divided into sixteen kingdoms which were collectively called 'Shodasha Janapada.' Among these, Magadha, Kosala, Vatsa and Avanti were the principal and their capitals were respectively Rajagriha, Shravasti, Kaushambi and Awanti. They were all independent and some of them were republics which then went by the name of Gana.

Pradyota ascended the throne of Ujjain in 527 B. C. He was a contemporary of Gautama Budha, Mahavira and Bimbisar of Shishunaga dynasty. Pradyota was a follower of Vedic religion. He was brave and adventurous, but was cruel and destitute of good policy. He spread his political

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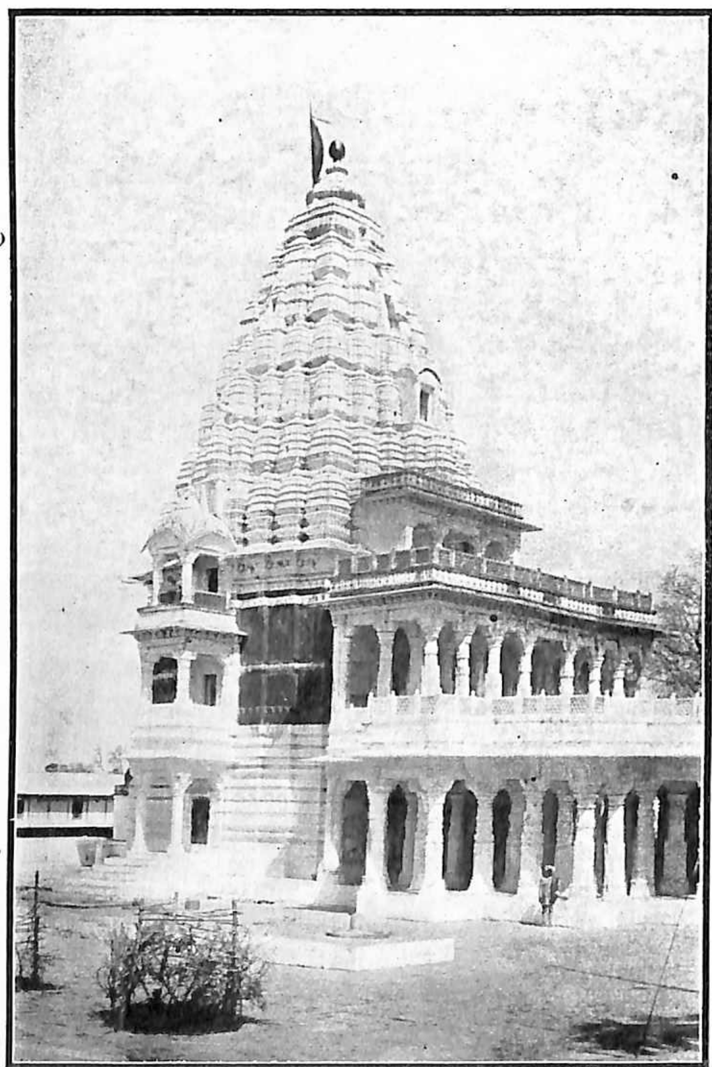
*Udayana and Ripunjaya had a common ancestor in Puru. Kuru, the 26th descent from Puru, had two sons—Sudhanusha and Parikshit. Ripunjaya was 27th in descent from Sudhanusha and Udayana was 25th in descent from Parikshit.

influence over all the princes around. Udayana, the king of Kaushambi, managed to remain independent. This, Pradyota could not bear, but he was, at the same time, afraid of Udayana's prowess, and still more of the skill of his minister Yaugandharayana. Pradyota had, therefore, resort to an ambush. By a stratagem, he induced Udayana to go to a forest, accompanied by a few friends, and as soon as he was near enough to Ujjain, Pradyota's men fell upon him. Udayana put up a heroic fight, but the odds against him were heavy and he sank to the ground, exhausted and unconscious. Covered with wounds, he was taken to Ujjain.

Pradyota, however, treated him with due respect, befitting his dignity, and he kept him in his own palace. Udayana was a master in the art of singing and music. Pradyota entrusted to him, the pleasant task of giving training to his daughter Vasawadutta in these fine arts. In the course of time, the teacher and the pupil became closely attached to each other. Their attachment gradually grew into love and with the help of his clever minister, Udayana managed to elope with Vasawadutta. Bhasa already makes this story the basis of his dramas Swapna-Wasavadutta and Pratidnya Yaugandharayana and later on Kalidas makes a mention of this episode in his Meghaduta.

During the monarchy of Pradyota and his descendants, the city was well advanced in trade and commerce. The people were wealthy. Luxury and corruption, ever accompanists of wealth, prevailed among the rich. Gambling was not considered a vice and courtezans were not looked down upon in society. It was during the time of Palaka, Pradyota's successor, that Charudutta and Vasantasena, the hero and heroine of the famous drama, Mrit-Shakatika (toy-cart), lived at Ujjain. Palaka was not liked by the people and his rule ended in a tragedy. He was dethroned by Aryaka, who according to the author of the Toy-cart, belonged to Abhir family, but according to Dr. Bhandarkar, he was the nephew of Palaka. With Nandi-wardhana, the successor of Aryaka, the Pradyota dynasty came to end in 389 B. C.

From what has been said above, it is evident that Ujjain, as revealed in classical literature, was a glorious city, and played its part nobly in the ancient history of India.



Temple of Mahakal (Front view).

CHAPTER III.

FROM ASHOKA TO BHOJA.

IN the last chapter, we have given stray and unconnected information about Ujjain which we could gather from ancient Indian literature. In this chapter, we propose to give the history of Ujjain from 286 B. C. to 1060 A. D.—from the conquest of Ujjain by Bindusar to the end of the rule of Bhoja. It extends over a period of thirteen hundred years. It is a period of prosperity in the ascertained history of Ujjain.

Bindusar, the son of Chandragupta of the Maurya dynasty, invaded Ujjain in 286 B.C. He kept Ujjain a separate province under the suzerainty of Magadha and transferred his son Ashoka from Taxashila to Ujjain as Upa-Raja or Viceroy.

Ujjain, the capital of Western India, was equally famous and equally suitable as the seat of a Viceregal Government. Reckoned to be one of the sacred cities and standing on the road leading from the busy posts of the western coast to the markets of

the interior, it combined the advantages of a favourite place of pilgrimage with those of a commercial depôt. The city was recognised as the headquarters of Indian astronomy and longitudes were computed from its meridian. Ashoka was residing at Ujjain when he was its Viceroy. In 273 B. C. Ashoka succeeded his father as the king of Pataliputra and kept one of his sons at Ujjain as Upa-Raja. In the 9th year of his reign in 264 B. C. he made a conquest of Kalinga and according to his thirteenth edict published by himself, it was the remorse and the pity aroused in his mind by the horrors of this war of conquest, that resulted in his conversion to Budhism. Before he embraced Budhism, he was out and out a follower of Vedic religion. He was well-known from his childhood for his religious trend of mind.

From the localities in which we find his inscriptions, it appears that Ashoka's dominion extended from Kathiawar in the west, to Cuttack in the east and from Afghanisthan, Punjab and the sources of the Jamna in the north, to Mysore, including the table-land of Deccan in the south.

Ashoka was very keen on looking after the material interest of the people under his charge. During his time, Patna, Taxila, Allahabad and Ujjain were the principal towns under Maurya

monarchy. They were governed by Panchayat system—each town having six Panchayats—each consisting of five officers with departments allotted to them. Besides, each of these towns had a municipal board consisting of thirty members. A system of medical aid was established by him throughout his kingdom. He founded so many rest houses for the poor and monasteries for Bauddha Bhikshus that his kingdom came to be called a land of monasteries or Vihar, now known as Bihar. He founded a college at Ujjain, where astronomy and astrology were taught as special subjects, and during his reign, Budhist gatherings were held at Ujjain under his command every third year.

Until Ashoka accepted Budhism, it was a religion for the poor and the lowly. It received royal patronage under him. But, he was not actuated by a sectarian spirit. Under his rule, Budhism, Jainism and the Vedic Hinduism flourished side by side and they were not at war with one another. There was a spirit of toleration among their followers. There was then a Budhist monastery at Ujjain called Dakshina-giri, where hundreds of Bhikshus used to live and there were also many big temples of Jain Tirthankars. Ashoka respected truth and his ethical discourses were acceptable to the followers of every religion.

Under the rule of Ashoka, Ujjain attained the highest state of prosperity. The city was a great centre of Aryan culture and was renowned for its astronomical schools. It was also the centre of commerce. It was a chief market and the distributing centre for articles imported from and exported to other places. 'From Ozene,' says the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, 'every sort of commodity is brought down to Barugaza (Broach) which contributes to the supply of the country and many articles of foreign trade comprehending porcelain, fine muslins, wine, brass and tin, pass through Ozene for the inland. For, as long as there was a regular Hindu power at Ozene, the city seemed to be the natural metropolis of the country.' The trade of the ports on the western coast with the principal towns in the interior was transacted through the medium of Ujjain. Sea commerce was maintained with Mesopotamiya and Egypt, through Persian gulf and the Red Sea and the ports on the west coast were connected with Pataliputra, through Ujjain, the great emporium of the period. During Ashoka's time, three roads were constructed and were connected with Ujjain. One was from Hyderabad (Sind) to Ujjain with a length of 500 miles, another was from Broach to Ujjain, and its length was 300 miles, and a third from Patna to

Ujjain *via* Bhilsa, Bharhut, Kosom and Benares, and its length was 620 miles. The valuable cloth of Broach and the carved and engraved articles of Surat were imported first into Ujjain and therefrom sent to other towns in India.

Many strange stories are told regarding this famous ruler. It is said, for instance, that he built two prisons, one at Patna and another at Ujjain, and the inmates therein were made to suffer the tormenting pains till they were dead. Yuan Chwang makes mention of these prisons but does not refer to tormenting pains, the inmates had to suffer. These stories in the words of Ramesh Chandra Dutt 'are absolutely unfounded and are invented to heighten the merit of Budhism by blackening the character of Ashoka before his conversion to that creed.'

Ashoka was undoubtedly the most powerful sovereign of his time and the most remarkable and imposing ruler of India. 'If a man's fame,' says Koppen, 'can be measured by the number of hearts who revere his memory and by the number of lips who have mentioned and who still mention him with honour, Ashoka is more famous than Charlemagne or Cæsar.'

Ashoka died in 232-231 B. C. and a succession of weak monarchs followed his death. The great

Empire began to break up slowly and with Brihadratha, the Maurya dynasty came to an end. Pushyamitra, the Commander-in-Chief of Brihadratha, killed him on the occasion of a review of forces and ascended the throne of Pataliputra and thus Ujjain came under the Shunga dynasty in 184 B.C.

During the reign of Pushyamitra, his son Agnimitra was the Viceroy of Ujjain. He kept his headquarters at Bhilsa. Ujjain was still a place of learning, commerce and industries and its importance suffered in no way. Pushyamitra is said to have performed Ashvamedha. Patanjali, in his Vyakarana Mahabhasya and Kalidasa in his Malavikagni-mitra, give a lucid description of this Ashwamedha. Pushyamitra was succeeded by his son Agnimitra in 148 B. C. The reigns of Pushyamitra and his son Agnimitra appear to mark a violent reaction against Budhism. The Shunga dynasty was short-lived. Devabhuti, the last of this dynasty, was murdered by his Minister Vasudeva, who founded a Kanwa dynasty at Pataliputra, but Ujjain, no more, remained under the sway of the Kanwa rule. About the same time, the Malawas of the Punjab invaded the country of Awanti and founded there a separate independent monarchy.

The Malawas lived by the profession of arms and are identical with the valiant Malloi tribe con-

quered by Alexander. They came to Ujjain through Rajputana and established their monarchy here in the first century B. C. No definite year of their conquest of Ujjain is on record. But the year 71 B. C. appears to be probable, for the Shunga dynasty was extinct in this year and the Kanwa dynasty had no sway over Ujjain.

It is owing to the advent and settlement of Malawas here, that the country of Awanti came to be called Malwa. Nothing definitely can be said as to who was the first man of this tribe, who invaded Ujjain and settled here. But the tradition assigns this honour to Gandharvasena. The well-known traditional Vikramaditya belonged Gandharvasena's family. When did he succeed to Gandharvasen or any of his descendants, and when did he come to throne, history does not know. History only records his succession on the throne of Ujjain shortly after Gandharvasena.

Until Vikramaditya came to the throne, he is said to have travelled over a great part of the country in the habit of a mendicant devotee in order to acquire learning, arts and policy of foreign nations. Mr. Alexander Dow, in his history of Hindustan, depicts him as one of the most renowned characters in Indian history. 'In policy, justice and wisdom he had no equal.'

The grandeur of Ujjain which was gradually increased by degrees, reached its zenith during the reign of Vikramaditya. It is said of him, that after the defeat of the first tribe of Shakas in the Punjab, he transferred the seat of his capital to Ujjain, from which time, it became the first meridian of the Hindu astronomy.

The Malawas ruled at Ujjain for about a century. The last of the family was Gardabhila. He was defeated by a Shaka king, who established his own rule at Ujjain probably in 78 A. D. A legend, in Kalakacharya Kathanaka, tells us that during the first century A. D. there came to Ujjain, a Jain ascetic by name Kalakacharya. He was accompanied by a young and beautiful nun Saraswati. They lived together in a garden outside the town At that time, Ujjain was under the rule of Gardabhila. He was voluptuous. He happened to see Saraswati and managed to take her away into his Seraglio. Kalakacharya was much enraged and with the intention of taking revenge, he persuaded the Shaka Satraps of Gujarath and Kathiawar to invade Ujjain.

The first prince of Shaka dynasty who invaded Ujjain and defeated Gardabhila belonged to Bactrian Greeks. These Bactrian Kings ruled in different

parts of India, long before the Kathiawar branch of Shakas came to Ujjain. They were *Yawanas and were called Satraps or †Kshatrapas. We cannot say who was the first king of the Shaka dynasty who defeated Gardabhila and established his rule at Ujjain. Among his successors Nahapana and Chastana were well-known. The Shakas ruled till 388 A. D. The last of the Shakas was Rudra-Sinha. He was given to excessive sexual pleasure and he took a fancy for a young and beautiful woman, Dhruwa-Devi, who however could not yield to him. Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty took the advantage of this love affair. He went to Ujjain, and in the disguise of Dhruwa-Devi, arranged an interview with Rudra-Sinha and while Rudra-Sinha, not suspecting the stratagem, was advancing towards his disguised beloved, Chandragupta killed him and took possession of Ujjain, and thus in 388 A.D. Malwa was annexed to the Gupta empire. Bana in his 'Harsha Charita' gives a lucid description of this love episode and

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*The word 'Yawana' is etymologically the same as 'Ionian' and originally meant 'Asiatic Greeks'. The oriental nations heard of the Greeks through Ionian traders and hence the word for Greeks in Sanskrit is Yawana. Panini first used it in the feminine form Yawanani. Since the second century A. D. the term had a vaguer signification and was employed to denote foreigners.

†The word Satrap is of Persian origin and Kshatrapa is its Indianised form.

Bhoja in his 'Shringara Prakasha' depicts Chandragupta as 'Devi Chandragupta.'

Chandragupta assumed the title of Vikramaditya and made Ujjain his second capital, where he used to live in every summer. About this time, Fa Hian, a Chinese traveller, came to India and toured in Malwa. He describes Malwa as a country of 'warm and equable climate. The people here are very well off, with very little official restrictions. They kill no living thing, nor drink wine. They have no Shambles or wine shops.' During this time, Budhism had a predominance over other religions, although Chandragupta himself was a follower of Vedic Hinduism. Under the Gupta dynasty, the Brahmanical revival took place, as is indicated by the Ashwamedha performed by Samudragupta. This Ashwamedha is pointedly spoken of as having gone out of use, for a long time. The Guptas were, as their coins show, the worshippers of Vishnu and followers of Vedic religion.

After Skandagupta, the grandson of Chandra-Gupta II, the Gupta rulers began to lose ground and the Huns appeared on the scene. Their locust hordes spread over Persia and in northern India as far as Kanauj. The Mahabharata refers to Huns among whom polyandry prevailed. In the days of their dominance, the Huns were universally regarded as destroyers of civilization. They were warlike but

hard-hearted. Love for children, sympathy towards women and respect to elders were unknown to them. On their coins were inscribed 'Jayatu-Vrisha-dhwajah' and this leads us to infer that they were Shaivas.

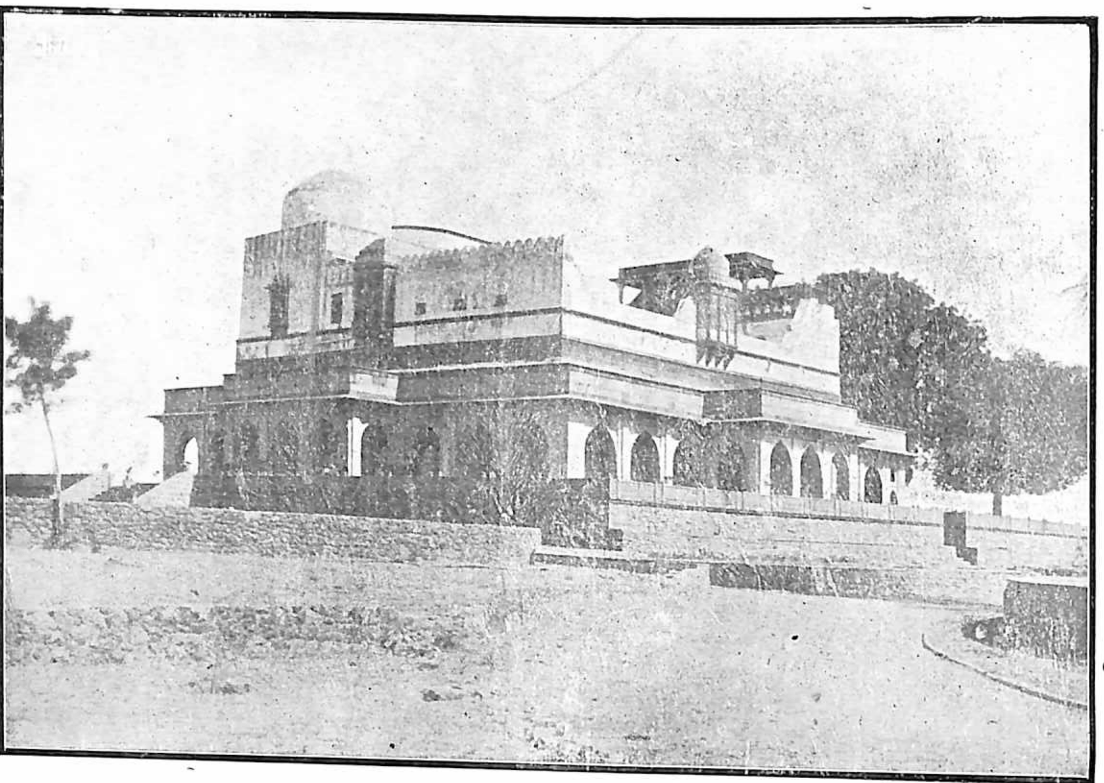
During the reign of Narasinhagupta or Baladitya, the fourth in succession from Chandragupta II about 492 A. D., the Huns snatched Malwa from the dominion of the Guptas and established their suzerainty at Ujjain. The whole period of the tenancy of Malwa by the Huns under the leadership of Toramana and his son Mihirakula, did not amount to more than forty years. Their rule, though short, was a rule of oppression and anarchy. Under their rule, no one could call his house or wife, his own.

In 533 A. D. Yashodharman of Mandsaur, defeated Mihirakula and annexed Ujjain. The rule of Huns thus came to an end. The pillar of victory erected at Mandsaur is in memory of this victory over the Huns. The Gupta dynasty again got hold of Ujjain but they were gradually losing ground, and Mahasenagupta, their Governor at Ujjain, declared himself independent about 600 A.D. Mahasen was succeeded by his son Devagupta. He invaded Kanauj, killed its king Grihawarman and kept his widow Rajyashree in jail. Rajyashree was the sister of Harsha Vardhan, king of Sthaneswar and Harsha, to revenge the death of his brother-in-law and the insult of his sister, defeated Devagupta

and annexed Ujjain and Kanauj to his kingdom. Rajyashree was already out of jail and was living in a Budhist Vihara. Harsha found her out and she lived with him.

Harsha was a follower of Budhism. But Budhism was, at that time, on its way to decline. Yuan Chwang, who visited Ujjain about the same time tells us that excepting three or four repairable monasteries, containing a few Baudha Bhikshus, all other monasteries were in a ruined condition. The rule of Harsha and his successors over Ujjain was not long. They were followed by the Pratihars whose rule lasted till 946 A. D.

Then followed the rule of the Parmaras. The Parmaras came from Abu and they invaded Malwa and established their monarchy at Ujjain in 946 A. D. Among the rulers of Parmar family, Munjadeo and Bhoja were worthy of note. It is said of them, that they wielded both pen and sword with equal facility. Munja ruled from 973 to 997 and Bhoja from 1010 to 1060 A. D. The Pishacha Vimochana Ghat on the bank of the Sipra was constructed during the reign of Munja; while during the time of Bhoja, the temple of Mahakala was repaired and many additions were made to it. Bhoja removed his capital to Dhar. This removal of the capital left Ujjain unprotected and led to its downfall and ruin.



Kaliya Deha.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM JAYASINHA TO MOHAMMAD SHAH.

FROM Jayasinha, the successor of Bhoja, to Mohammad Shah, the last of the Mughal Emperors, is a period of nearly seven hundred years extending from 1060 A. D. to 1732. It is a period of downfall and ruin, in the history of Ujjain.

The successors of Bhoja ruled till 1290, but the seat of the capital being transferred to Dhar, during the reign of Bhoja, Ujjain remained undefended. Sultan Altamash of Delhi took advantage of this weak position, captured the city in 1235, pulled down the temple of Mahakala and destroyed the palaces, gardens and other places of importance. He took away with him to Delhi the golden image of Mahakala and every other thing of value that he could seize. He got a mosque erected on the very site of the old temple of Mahakala which he devastated.

In 1291 Jalal-ud-din Firoz Shah Khilji, the then ruler of Delhi, invaded Ujjain and plundered the

city, and razed many temples to the ground. After two years, he invaded Malwa again and sacked the town. This plunder of Jalal-ud-din was closely followed by an impetuous pillage of the town by his nephew Ala-ud-din, on his way, to Deccan. These invasions, in quick succession, devastated the town and reduced it to the condition of a hell. Malwa remained under Khilji dynasty of Delhi from 1291 to 1321 but their rule was a rule of destruction and devastation.

Then followed the Tughlak dynasty which ruled at Delhi from 1322 to 1400 and Malwa remained a province under Delhi. In 1387 Dilawar Khan Ghori came to Ujjain as a Governor. He built the 'Aam-Khas' palace here by the side of Rudra-Sagar, which can only be traced now by its ruins and he turned a Jain or Buddhist Vihar into a mosque, which is now known as 'Bina-niva-ki-masjid.' In 1398-99 Timur invaded Delhi when Tughlak dynasty was in a melting pot. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Dilawar Khan declared himself independent as the Sultan of Malwa in 1401. His successor, Husang Shah, transferred the capital to Mandu about 1408. In 1435 Mohammad Shah, grandson of Dilawar Khan, was poisoned by his minister Mohammad Khilji, who ascended the throne of the Sultans of

Malwa. Mohammad Khilji was brave, shrewd and diplomatic as well. During his time, the administration of Malwa was much improved. He died in 1469 and was succeeded by Ghyas-ud-din. He was poisoned by his own son Nasir-ud-din, who declared himself as the Sultan in 1501. Nasir-ud-din was cruel, vicious and sensual. He was much hated for his acts of poisoning his own father. It was he who destroyed the temple of 'Surya' (sun) which existed midway in the streams of the river Sipra and built a water palace, on the same site, which now goes by the name of Kaliadeh. Nasir-ud-din generally used to live in this palace and one day, under intoxication of liquor, he drowned himself in one of the water receptacles and ended his life in 1511. His son Mohammad succeeded him. In 1526, Bahadur Shah of Gujarath invaded Mandu, defeated Mohammad Shah, took him prisoner and subsequently cut off his head at Dohad. Thus the independent kingdom of Malwa under the Khilji Sultans came to an end. From 1526 to 1535 Malwa was a province under Bahadur Shah of Gujarath. In 1535 Humayun fought a battle with Bahadur Shah and snatched Malwa from his grip. But no sooner did Humayun turn his back upon Malwa, it was invaded by Mohammad Khan Kadar of Chanderi. It was however again restored to the

Mughal Emperor of Delhi in 1543 and Sujawal Khan kept his capital at Ujjain and ruled Malwa on behalf of the Mughal Emperor till 1554. His rule was one of peace and order. He died in 1554 and Baj Bahadur succeeded him. Baj Bahadur again transferred his capital from Ujjain to Mandu. He was the most accomplished musician and singer of the day. It is said of him, that in his court, 'the voice of music was never silent and his company was a levee of nightingales in a garden of roses'. He was very much enamoured of Rupamati, a beautiful girl of fifteen well versed in music. Many are the stories told of Rupamati's birth. Some say, she was a dancing girl of Sarangpore. Others tell us that she was the daughter of a Rathor king of Dharampuri, yet 'of her beauty, her chastity and her skill in music, all say but one word'. Baj Bahadur married her and 'the sweet silent rhetoric of her persuading eyes' so much engrossed his mind that the administration of the province was left uncared for. Akbar came to know this and in 1562 he invaded and took possession of Mandu. Baj Bahadur ran away and Rupmati quaffed a cup of deadly poison and 'carried her honour to the chamber of annihilation'. She died at Sarangpore at the age of 21 and her tomb is on the picturesque bank of Kali-sindha.

In 1564, Akbar transferred the seat of his governorship to Ujjain and he himself used to sojourn here during rainy season. Nothing important happened in the history of Ujjain, during the reigns of Akbar's successors till 1720 or 1722, when, in the reign of Mohammad Shah, Jaisinha, the Raja of Jaipur came to Ujjain as the Governor of Malwa. He founded the suburb known as Jaisinhapura and built an observatory just near it on the bank of Sipra.

During the next ten years, Malwa was formally under the Mughal rule; but the Mughal power began to wane and could not withstand the inroads of Marathas from the Deccan. The Mughal ruler therefore had to relinquish his suzerainty and the Peshwa became the supreme power in Malwa in 1732. He divided the territory among his three Subhedars,—Scindia, Holkar and Pawar. Ujjain and a part of Malwa fell to the lot of Ranoji Scindia.

CHAPTER V.

FROM SUBHEDAR RANOJI TO MAHARAJA MADHAV RAO.

FROM Subhedar Ranoji to Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia, may be called the period of revival in the history of Ujjain. It extends over two hundred years from 1732 to 1925. In 1690, the Maratha horses crossed the Narbada for the first time. They made repeated attacks in 1702 and again in 1705. They invaded the country as far as Ujjain, Mandsaur and Sironja but could not make any substantial acquisition. In 1717 they again came and settled here. They got a firm footing in a part of Malwa. In 1723, the Nizam, the then Governor of Malwa, under Mughals, retired and Scindia got Ujjain. In 1725, under orders of Peshwa Baji Rao I, Scindia began to collect Chauth in Malwa, and in 1728 he acquired more territory around Ujjain. But with all this success, the Marathas held no suzerainty over Malwa. They had still to wait.

By this time the Mughal power began to wane. The short reigns of many kings and the frequent

quarrels among the members of royal family made Mughal Emperors puppets in the hands of their ministers. The Empire was in the last stage of feebleness and was consequently ready to welcome any strong invader. Such invaders came from the south and they were the Marathas. They chose to rule the destiny of Malwa and Mohammad Shah had to resign the suzerainty over Malwa in favour of Peshwa. In 1732, the Peshwa Baji Rao I, got the full possession of Malwa, and he divided the territory among his three Subhedars—Scindia, Holkar and Pawar. Ranoji established his power over Ujjain, and a part of Malwa was assigned to him by a Sanad, granted on 26th July 1732.

Ranoji made Ujjain, the seat of his Subhedarship. But he had always to remain outside to fight battles on behalf of the Peshwas and could not therefore pay due attention to the administration of the territory under his charge. His Dewan, Ramchandra Malhar Sukhtankar popularly known as Ramchandra Baba, lived at Ujjain and was in sole charge of the administration. Ramchandra Baba restored peace and order and tried to improve the condition of Ujjain as far as money could allow him. He built the present temple of Mahakala and repaired all the temples and sacred spots in and

around Ujjain, that were then in a dilapidated condition. The Ramghat and Narsinha-ghat, on the bank of the river Sipra, have been built during his time; so in spite of the fact that Ranoji Rao had to live always in camp, he did not ignore the capital of his territory.

Ranoji died in July 1745 near Shujalpore. He had courage and daring and with these qualities of the heart, he raised himself from the position of a Bargir to that of the highest nobleman and was looked upon as a strong prop of the Maratha Power, in the Deccan. He was succeeded by his eldest son Jayappa who was killed by fraud at Nagore. Jayappa was succeeded by his son Jankoji. Jankoji lost his life in the great battle of Panipat. Mahadji, the youngest son of Ranoji and the only survivor in the direct descent, was now entitled to succeed to the State. His adversaries at Poona tried to deprive him of his ancestral right alleging him to be illegitimate. The Peshwa however gave decision in his favour.

Mahadji, popularly called Patil Baba, succeeded to his ancestral State in 1761. He was warlike and diplomatic. During his time the political divisions of the territory into Districts and Parganas were made and the system of administering justice was

established by the appointment of an assembly of arbitrators. The time of Patil Baba was in fact, the time of friction among Marathas, Rajputs, Mohammadans and English. Patil Baba and his Commander-in-Chief, Jivba Dada, whom he brought with him from Poona and who was his trusted colleague, fought several battles with Rohillas, Rajputs, Sikhs and others, from Patiala in the north to Mysore in the south. Mahadji extended his territory as far as the southern bank of the Jamuna by annexing the provinces of Agra, Mathura and Gwalior. During the time of Mahadji Scindia, Ujjain played the part of a pivotal point in the political history of India. The name of Mahadji Scindia is well-known. Without him, the modern history of India of the Mughal and Maratha periods is incomplete.

In war and in peace, in diplomatic negotiations and in every important affair of the State, whether in connection with the Emperor of Delhi or with the Peshwa of Poona, Patil Baba was always consulted and his opinion was held supreme. He ruled the destinies of both, the Mughals and the Peshwas. He was a successful warrior and a shrewd diplomatist. 'He was now, by far,' says Col Malleson, 'the most powerful Prince of the Marathas. There was none, who could even be called his second, and it was

evident from his great genius and the irresistible power he had acquired, that he would soon be the virtual head of the Maratha people and the ruler of the greatest part of India'. But such things were not destined to be. While he was contemplating his dream of future glory, he was attacked with violent fever which terminated his life at Wanavadi (near Poona) on the 12th February 1794.

Mahadji's whole life was spent in warfare in upper India and he remained only for a short time at Ujjain. But Ujjain, under Mahadji, was rich and flourishing. Mallet, the European traveller, who visited Ujjain in 1785, describes Ujjain as a town of beautiful buildings and a central market of grains, cloths, fruits and vegetables.

On the death of Mahadji, Daulat Rao, his adopted son, succeeded him. During his time, Ujjain was twice looted by Malhar Rao Holkar of Indore. This calamity and the removal of capital to Gwalior in 1810, hindered the progress of Ujjain, till Bayja Bai, widow of Daulat Rao, made Ujjain the abode of her residence during the minority of Jayaji Rao. Bayja Bai lived at Ujjain from 1847 to 1856 and during her stay here, she built a beautiful temple of Shri-Krishna in the heart of the city known as Gopal Mandir and another temple on the Pishacha-

vimochan Ghat, of the river, known as her own Chhatri. In her time, Patni Bazar, Sabzi Mandi and Saraffa were in the most flourishing condition. Many of the religious festivities and processions, that are still in vogue in connection with Mahakala, Gopal Mandir and Sipra Ghats have their origin in her religious faith. From the time, when Bayja Bai left Ujjain in 1856 to the time when Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia assumed full powers in the administration of the State, there was a period of lull in the history of Ujjain.

Maharaja Madhav Rao was, however, keenly interested in the welfare of his subjects and he spared no pains in making improvements, in every branch of administration. As far as public health and public welfare are concerned, Ujjain made much improvement during his time. The first and the foremost of his noble gifts to Ujjain, is that of pure and fresh water-supply. Ujjain though situated on the bank of a river, had not the advantage of ample and pure supply of water. The river grows thin in every summer and cholera used to appear inevitable almost every year. This calamity was averted by the construction of water works in 1906. The widening of the streets, the construction of many new roads, the supply of electric

light, the club and the hotel are some of the many endowments of Maharaja Madhav Rao. The repairs of the observatory, originally built by Raja Jaisinha of Jaipur, during his governorship of Malwa, the repairs of the Mahakala Temple and the repairs and additions to Kaliadeh Mahal are to his credit and indicate his keen desire to preserve and improve antiquities; the college, the hospital and the municipal board are the new institutions founded during his reign. Much more was expected from him. But alas ! God ordained otherwise. In April 1925, he ailed for England, but before he could reach London, the drama of his chequered life came to an abrupt close, and at Paris on the 5th of the following June, he made his final exit from the stage of the world. His son Jayaji Rao succeeds him.



Nana Fadnis. Madhav Rao Peshwa Mahadji Scindia.

CHAPTER VI.

THEN AND NOW.

WE have said in the second chapter that Ujjain has its existence since before 5,000 years. But the modern town of Ujjain, as it is now, differs in many respects, from the ancient Avantika or Ujjayini. The sites of the ancient and modern towns are not identical. The former is at a short distance to the north of the latter, extending along the right bank of the river Sipra, and being on a high ground level, popularly known as 'Garh.' The area around the Mahakala temple was formerly called Mahakala-wana and was to the south of the ancient town. In fact, the town and forest of old have mutually ex-changed their places. What was once a Mahakala-wana is now, the modern town, and the ancient town has been changed into a waste.

Some time, during the pre-historic days, the ancient city of fame, or at least, a greater part of it appears to have been destroyed by earthquake or an unusual flood on the river. On the northern side of the modern town, traces of the old foundations are

still clearly visible. It is called 'Garh' or old Ujjain and numerous antiques, such as beads, seals, ornaments and coins are found here after a little digging. The various elevated portions, we now see in and around the modern town, contain the ruins of some old buildings and temples.

A few years ago, there was some digging in a house near Mahakala, where many copper and silver coins and two pieces of stone inscriptions were found. The stone inscriptions, no doubt, seem to have some connection with the old temple of Mahakala which was destroyed by Sultan Altamash of Delhi in 1235, for the colour of the stone and the letters on them closely correspond to the colour and to the letters on an old piece of inscription on an old temple stone, built up in the present temple. In the same way, only two years ago, while digging an old house, on the side of Rudra Sagar, a Shiva-linga with a Shalunka was found some twenty feet below the ground and it still exists there.

These discoveries naturally lead us to believe that a great part of the old temple still lies buried under ground at a place where the new temple has been built and that many antiques are likely to be found under a place which now goes by the name of 'Kota'. Col. Luard struck a true note when he said that

'a scientific excavation would certainly yield interesting results,' and there is no doubt that excavations made in the right direction under the supervision of an expert archæologist will certainly bring to light many interesting results in the shape of antiquities which will give a clue to the ancient history of the place.

In spite of the disastrous effects of earthquake or flood whichever it might be, Ujjain regained its grandeur and was at the height of its glory, till the middle of the twelfth century A. D. Since the time of Ashoka in the third century B. C. to the time when Bhoja transferred his capital to Dhar, Ujjain continued to flourish in every way. It resumed commerce and again continued to be a centre of trade and industry. It connected Broach, Cambay and other principal ports on the west coast with the principal markets in the interior. 'The trade export and import of the Surat District,' says Mr. Rawlinson, 'was immense. The export included the various Indian spices, muslins and precious stones, while the imports included unguents, singing boys and choice girls for the royal harem. The exports and imports were carried through Ozene'. 'There was a great business here in costly jewellery, there were the magnificent palaces of royal and wealthy

families. There were big mansions of the learned and the noble, and the city was adorned by beautiful gardens, spread all around. All this gave indescribable beauty and splendour to the town'. Such is the description of the city given by foreign travellers, who saw Ujjain during those days.

The grandeur and riches of Ujjain find expressions in the grand description of the city by Kalidasa in Meghaduta. His verses, as translated by Prof. Wilson are given below for the curious readers :

"Behold the city whose immortal fame
Glows in Avantika's or Vishala's name
Renowned for deeds that wrath and love inspire,
And bards to paint them with poetic fire.
The fairest portion of celestial birth
Of Indra's paradise transferred to earth,
The last reward to acts austerest given
The only recompense then left to heaven,
Here as the early zephyrs wash along
In swelling harmony, the woodland song,
They scatter sweetness from the fragrant flower
That joyful opens to the morning hour.
With friendly zeal, they sport around the maid
Who early courts their vivifying aid
And cool from Sipra's jetted waves, embrace
Each languid limb and enervated grace."

Surely Yaksha had good reasons to ask the cloud not to pass on without a visit to this ancient town of fame.

But alas ! all this grandeur is now a fact of the past. The days of wondrous plenty are gone to come no more. As stated already, Sultan Altamash of the slave dynasty made a sudden attack on Ujjain in 1235 and devastated the whole town. He pulled down the grand temple of Mahakala and took away all the valuable jewellery. In 1291 and again in 1293, during the reign of Jalal-ud-din Firoz Shah, the capture of the town called 'Jhain' is mentioned. It is difficult to determine whether this is certainly Ujjain or not, but the description undoubtedly points to it; and the destruction of the town, due to the devastation, made, in the words of the historian, "a hell of paradise". Firoz Shah's invasion was shortly followed by a campaign by his nephew Ala-ud-din who again devastated Ujjain and robbed the inhabitants of what little they had. Upon the peace of the fair land of Ujjain, rich in soil and highly flourishing, broke these repeated storms and it was laid waste by Mahomedan barbarians. Ujjain then knew neither peace nor settled rule. It was stripped of all its glory and the importance of the place, as a commercial centre, came to an end. These three invasions are more responsible for the

destruction of the town than the forces of nature—earthquake and flood—that wrought havoc in the pre-historic period.

But those evil days passed and Ujjain is again under a Hindu rule. Since 1732, when Ujjain came under Maharaja Scindia, some of its old grandeur was restored. Ruined temples were rebuilt; large buildings were constructed, roads were widened and lighted, and trade is being encouraged. Thus the city developed itself until it became as it is now. Though the town dates its existence back to pre-historic time, it has been so changed under the Hindu and Mahomedan rulers that practically, the modern town has lost all relationship to the ancient city so highly praised in ancient literature * The city retains its name but not the grandeur.

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*Compare Khare Shastri's description of Ujjain:

आहे नांव परंतु (वैभव) दिसे कोठें न तें त्यापरी.
नामैक्यें समता चुन्यास अमृता येईल कैशी तरी.



His late Highness Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia.

CHAPTER VII.

SHAKA AND SAMWAT ERAS.

THE problem of Shaka and Samwat eras is one of the enigmas of history. As the names are current now, the Shaka era is called the 'Shalivahana Shaka' and the Samwat era is called the 'Vikrama Samwat'. But who Shalivahana and Vikrama were, is a matter of great controversy. Fortunately, their starting points are accepted by all as 78 A. D. and 57 B. C. We here propose to examine the different theories advanced by scholars with a view to solve this mystery.

Sir Vincent Smith holds that the Shaka era was started by the Shaka king Kanishka. Kanishka's accession is supposed by him to have taken place in 78 A. D. But Mr. Rawlinson points out that the date of the accession of Kanishka is not 78 A. D. and that the first Shaka monarch was Kadphises I, who ruled from 40 to 78 A. D. and Kadphises II succeeded him in 78 A. D. Thus, according to Mr. Rawlinson, the Shaka era was founded not by Kanishka but by Kadphises II But this surmise

of Mr. Rawlinson cannot be supported, as Kadphises II was not so great a monarch as to found an era and generally it may be objected that this Shaka family ruled in the Punjab and had little connection with Ujjain. We may therefore give up the theory that the Shaka era was founded either by Kanishka or by Kadphises II.

Another theory about the founding of Shaka era is that it was founded by a king of Andhra-bhritya line of Paithan in the Deccan. The Shaka rulers of Ujjain had constant fights with the Satawahan–changed into Shalivahana later–kings of Paithan. According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Chastana was a contemporary of Pulumayi or Gautamiputra, who ruled Pratisthan—modern Paithan. Satawahan was the family name of this line of Shaka rulers. This Gautamiputra Satawahan was the son born of a woman living in the house of a potter at Paithan. Jayadaman, son of Chastana, who succeeded him on the throne of Ujjain, observing the growing power of Gautamiputra, attacked him. But he was defeated and was pursued by the victorious Gautamiputra into his own dominions. Gautamiputra subjugated Avanti and dethroned Jayadaman. For a time Gautami-putra and his successors held sway over Ujjain,

performed Ashwamedha and continued the Shalivahana era at Ujjain already founded by their predecessor at Paithan.

This account merely suggests that the Shaka era of 78 A. D. was founded by some predecessor of Gautamiputra. Who that predecessor was and for what exploit he founded this era is nowhere apparent. There is no mention of it in any inscription or document. Gautamiputra who conquered Ujjain could not have founded it, as he was the contemporary of Jayadaman and hence his date comes about 150 A. D. So far as we know, there is no record or mention in the inscriptions of the Satawahan family of Paithan about the founding of the Shaka era.

The late Mr. V. K. Rajwade, the renowned researcher in Maratha history, has formulated a theory of his own, which tries to explain why the Shaka era, is current in the Deccan, and he argues that the people of Maharashtra, who used the Shaka era even in religious ceremonies, could not have patronised an era, founded by Shakas or Scythians. He suggests that the era was called the Shaka era because it was founded by Shakasena in memory of a defeat of the Shakas, who had invaded Maharashtra about 78 A. D.

The theory is ingenious, no doubt. But there are strong arguments which militate against this theory. The first is that until about the thirteenth century, astronomical Sanskrit works, which undoubtedly use this era, describe it as the era of the Shaka kings. Even Bhaskaracharya, the great Maharashtrian Astronomer, who lived in the 12th century A. D., calls it the era of the Shaka kings, as also some inscriptions found in Maharashtra, so describe it. Secondly, the Shaka kings of Ujjain, though foreigners by origin, were devout Hindus and worshipped the Mahakala as stated in their inscriptions. The name Shakasena no doubt occurs in Satawahan's line, though not about 78 A. D. And lastly, the records of the Satawahan kings, after Shakasena, do not use this era. Indeed, all the inscriptions of the Satawahan kings, including those of Gautamiputra, are without any era at all.

We next come to the theory that the Shaka era was founded by some king of the time of Shaka rulers of Ujjain to which Chastana belongs. The history of these Shaka kings in Malwa is well-known and practically without any controversy. We learn from Ptolemy that Tiastenese ruled at Ozene. This Tiastenese is Chastana and Ozene is Ujjain. His date of the rule at Ujjain is thus about

120 A. D. The founder of the era of 78 A. D. must be some previous Shaka king and as we have already stated, the ruler of the dynasty, to which Vikrama of Ujjain belongs, ended with Gardbhil about 78 A. D. It must have been overthrown by a king of the Shaka line who founded this era in memory of his conquest of Ujjain in Malwa. We have records of three Shaka invasions—of the Punjab, Mathura and Kathiawar. In the last, the Shakas must have defeated Gardbhil and settled in Malwa.

We look upon this theory about the founding of Shaka era as the most probable one, because, we have an inscription of Rudra-Daman, a successor of Chastana, found in Junagarh and dated as early as 72 of the Shaka era which corresponds with 150 A. D. A king of this line would not have used an era founded by some other line of kings and in some other part of India. This inscription of Rudra-Daman in Junagarh is well-known and records the construction of a big lake by Rudra-Daman, king of Ujjain. If this theory is accepted, then we can safely say that, though the exact name of the founder of the Shaka era has not yet been ascertained, the view that it was founded in memory of the conquest of Ujjain by a Shaka king who defeated

Gardbhil about 78 A. D. seems to be the most plausible one.

The Samwat era of 57 B. C. is equally, with the Shaka era, a subject of controversy and difference of opinion among scholars. Its present name is Vikrama Samwat, which is a later name like Shalivahana Shaka. The first inscription which gives the modern name Vikrama Samwat is that of Dholpur dated 842 A. D. Inscriptions earlier than this contained the name of 'Malava' only, for instance, 'Malava-Gana-Sthiti'. These inscriptions, no doubt, have properly been assigned to the Vikrama Samwat, though, they do not mention who started it and when. They are consistently explained when referred to Vikrama Samwat. But scholars differently interpret the words 'Gana' and 'Sthiti'. Dr. Fleet translates the phrase as reckoning from the tribal constitution of Malavas taking the word 'Gana' in its most usual sense of tribe. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar takes the word 'Sthiti' in the sense of usage and according to him the phrase means the usage of the Malava tribe. Dr. Kielhorn takes the word 'Gana' in the sense of reckoning and thus translates the phrase 'according to the reckoning of the Malavas' Dr. Thomas and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar take the word

'Gana' in the sense of corporation and infer from the above expression that the era of 57 B. C. dates from the foundation of the tribal independence of the Malava as a 'Gana' or body corporate. We think that the expressions 'Gana' and 'Sthiti' only indicate the usage of people who were 'Gana' or democratic without kings. The word 'Gana' constantly appears in this sense in the Mahabharata, and we know from the invasions of India by Alexander that there were, in his time, many tribes in the Punjab which were democratic and the Malloi or Malavas were one of them. Therefore, the expression above noted, in whatever manner the words 'Gana' and 'Sthiti' be interpreted, cannot give us any further information than that the era was used by Malava democratic tribe. There is no indication in them as to who founded the era and what incident it commemorated.

Here it may be noted that within a century of the downfall of Maurya Empire, a number of non-monarchical states founded their political corporation in India and the Malavas were one of them. In Rajputana, in the territory of Jaipura, in a village by name Nagor, about 6,000 coins were found some

time ago. These coins were inscribed *'Jai Malavanam.' The very fact that coins were issued in the name of a tribe and not of a king, and further that in some cases, the word 'Gana' is used along with the tribal name, leaves no doubt on the point. Some of these political corporations possessed great power and resources and extended their sway over a vast tract of the country. The Malavas and Yaudheyas, among them, stood as bulwark against the intrusions of foreign invaders. The Malavas fought against the forces of Nahapan. They were important factors till the end of the fourth century A. D. The decline of these corporations and the transition of some of them into monarchical states may be ascribed to invasions from without and the growth of the Gupta Empire within.

*Certain coins found at Nagor having on them the inscription Malavanam Jaya—the Victory of the Malavas—are ranging in characters according to General Cunningham—from 250 B. C. to 250 A. D. These coins show that the Malavas existed, as a recognised and important class, long before the time when their 'tribal constitution,' which led to the establishment of their era, took place. Again their mention in the Allahabad pillar inscription, among the tribes subjugated by Samudra Gupta, show that down to his time, at least, they maintained their tribal constitution and importance. Corpus Incriptionum Indicarum by Dr. Fleet—Vol. III.

From the account of the Malavas given above, the suggestion that one of their leaders conquered Ujjain from the Viceroy of the Shunga or Kanwa dynasty appears to be plausible. But in that case, too, the foundation of the Samwat era cannot be attributed to Vikramaditya for the Malavas conquered Malwa under the leadership of Gandharvasen, who preceded Vikramaditya about 71 B. C.

Popular tradition assigns Vikramaditya as the founder of era simply because, he was a great conqueror and subjugating the whole of northern India became the master of the whole of India north of the Narmada with Ujjain as his capital. Many European scholars, to quote Mr. Vincent Smith for instance, doubt the very existence of this traditional Vikramaditya and suggest that Chandra Gupta II of the Gupta dynasty took the title of Vikramaditya and had a better claim than any other sovereign to be regarded as the original of the mythical king of that name who figures so largely in Indian legends. They also suggest that Chandra Gupta II after the conquest of the Shaka kings of Malwa changed the name of Malava era into that of Vikrama era. We shall discuss the question whether Chandra Gupta II was first Vikramaditya, elsewhere, but here we must say that the theory that he changed the Malava

era into Vikrama era is quite unacceptable, as the era was still called Malava era, even in the days of Chandra Gupta, as also after him, throughout the Gupta period; and, secondly, a conqueror does not care to use an old era or antedate his own exploits; and lastly there was a separate Gupta era, already in existence founded by the predecessor of Chandra Gupta. Chandra Gupta II had therefore no reason to change the name of the era already founded by the Malava tribe.

Another theory is that Azes I founded the era of 57 B.C. and that also in the Punjab. The Cambridge history of India attributes the foundation of Malava era to the accession of Azes I. But Azes I ascended the throne in 50 B. C. and not in 57 B. C. and again he did not belong to Malava tribe.

An inscription of Ganda Phares, a Parthian king, has been found in the north-west of the Punjab which gives the date 103 and also the regal year 21. Early Christian tradition mentions that St. Thomas, one of the twelve disciples of Jesus Christ, came to India to preach Christianity and was killed in the court of a Parthian king. Dr. Fleet first pointed out that the year 103 should be taken to refer to the Malava era of 57 B. C. It was in his court, therefore, that St. Thomas must have

preached, as *Jewist* tradition asserts. The era of 57 B. C. therefore was used in the Punjab at so ancient a date as 46 A. D. though the word Malava is not used in the inscription, the year mentioned therein certainly refers to Malava era or the era founded by the Malavas and it probably dates from the tribal independence of the Malavas. Mr. C. V. Vaidya calls it Vikrama Samwat, but, the word Vikrama is not mentioned in the inscription. In fact, the story of Ganda Phares does not enable us to jump to any conclusion regarding the foundation of Malava era.

In conclusion, there is evidently, no evidence to prove that the Samwat era was founded by the so called traditional king Vikramaditya I of Ujjain. Nor is it proved that it came to be called Vikrama Era after Chandra Gupta II of the Gupta dynasty who assumed the title of Vikramaditya. We admit the existence of Vikramaditya I, as the king of Ujjain and we also admit that he ruled at Ujjain some time about the first century B. C. But the year of his birth or coronation is still unknown to us. Nor do we know any of his significant victories which took place in 57 B. C., the year of the foundation of the era. Further the era is not discovered with the word 'Vikrama' associated with it, till the time of Dholpur inscription of 842 A. D. By

this time, the line of the first Vikramaditya was extinct and the Gupta dynasty, to which second Vikramaditya belonged, was not the ruling power. We are therefore unable to say that Vikramaditya I of the first century B. C. founded the Samwat era. Nor are we inclined to say that Vikrama era was named after Vikramaditya II in memory of his conquest. Why the Malava era came to be called Vikrama era, is still a matter of suspended judgment.

From epigraphical records, we know, as we have stated above, that the earliest date which contains the word 'Vikrama' describes the era somewhat vaguely as Vikrama Kala or time of Vikrama. In the Gyaraspur inscription of 880, we have the words, 'Malava Kalat-Sharadam' 'where the word 'Sharat' (autumn), the beginning of Malava year, is intended to denote the whole of the year. Bana calls, 'Sharat' as Vikrama Kala, the season when kings and warriors started to perform deeds of bravery and to win victories and in this he follows all his predecessors down from Valmiki, who in Ramayana calls, 'Sharad' as the busy time of kings and warriors desirous of winning victories. Thus it seems that the poets were accustomed to speak of Sharad' as 'Vikrama Kala' and to describe the word Sharad'—a year—as 'Vikrama Kala' was only

a logical consequence. The usage of the poets *would have led to the employment of the terms 'Vikrama Kala', 'Vikrama-Samwatsar' season of victory, the very terms we meet with in earlier inscriptions. But owing to lack of sufficient decisive evidence, we cannot speculate any further than this.

दर्शयन्ति शरन्नद्यः पुलिनानि शनैः शनैः
नवसंगमसव्रीडा जघनानीव योषिताः
प्रसन्नसलिलाः सौम्य कुरराभिविनादिताः
चक्रवाकगणाकीर्णा विभांति सलिलाशयाः
अन्योन्यबद्धवैराणां जिगीषूणां नृपात्मज
उधोगसमयः सौम्य पार्थिवानामुपास्थितः

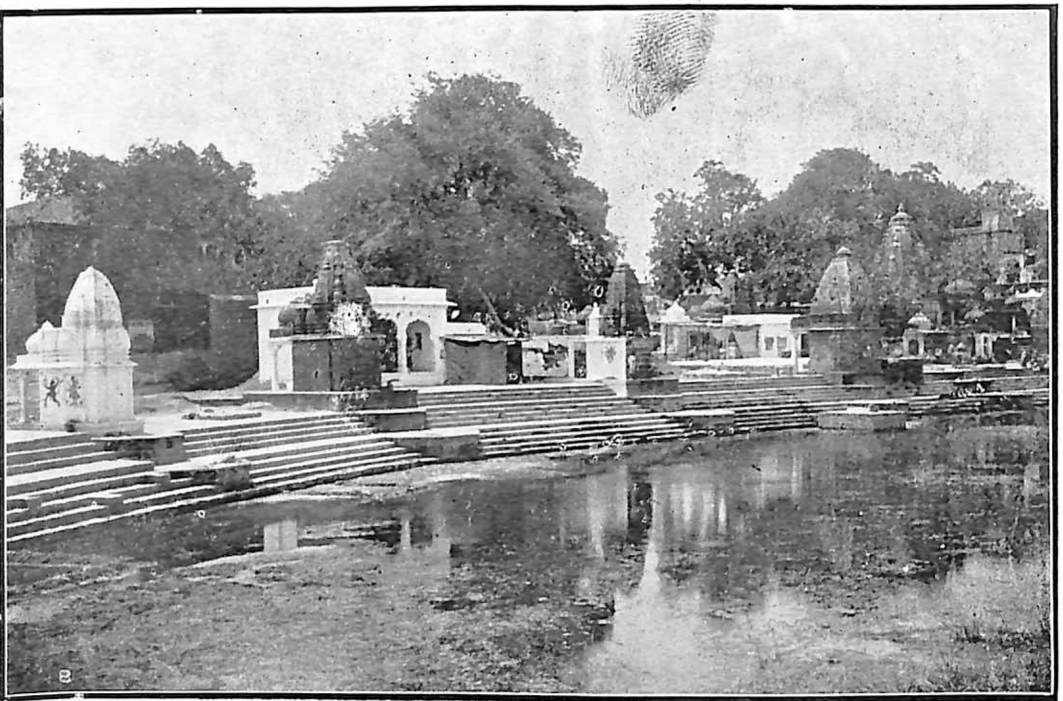
Valmiki Ramayana.

CHAPTER VIII.

KALIDASA.

Kalidasa who ranks foremost among all Indian poets, is a well-known figure in the history of Sanskrit literature. Not only has he received his due share of encomium from his countrymen, but he has been picked up by the western scholars and applauded with fervour and enthusiasm which he rightly deserves. Heaps of praises have been showered upon him by western critics. Cowell calls him the 'Virgil of India'. Sir William Jones describes him as the 'Shakespeare of India'. Goethe expatiates on Kalidasa's famous drama thus:—

"Woulds't thou the young years' blossoms
and the fruits of its decline;
And all by which the soul is charmed,
enraptured, feasted, fed?
Woulds't thou the earth and the heaven itself
in one soul name combine?
I name thee, Oh Shakuntala;
and all at once is said".



Sipra and its Ghats.

It is but natural for us to enquire in what age, did this brightest star of poetry shine and what part of the country could claim to be his birthplace. The task is by no means an easy one. Like many earlier poets, Kalidasa refrains from giving any reference to himself in his works, nor does he present his pedigree-table before his audience. Like a star he shines but speaks not of himself. Kalidasa was a national poet. He sang the glory of the whole nation, and thus the task of discovering his birthplace is beset with difficulties, which can only be overcome by the patient and critical study of his writings and by a skilful handling of the extensive materials that we find here and there in the ancient records of India. Several scholars have put forth their own theories, both as regards his birthplace and time and we will now examine them according to our best light.

We will first take up the subject of his birthplace. One tradition points to Dhar and another to Ujjain as the birthplace of Kalidasa. But neither of these views is supported by any independent evidence. No doubt, Kalidasa shows his intimate acquaintance with Ujjain, but this intimacy can be explained by his long residence there and it need not be his birthplace.

Harprasad Shastri suggests that Kalidasa belongs to Dashapur, on the ground that he gives a detailed description of Dashapur and the country around it in his Meghaduta and even makes mention of an unimportant temple of 'Skanda' in the vicinity of Dashapur. Kalidasa recommends the cloud to halt there during its progress to 'Alaka' and on the basis of a mention of the familiar and sportive glances of the ladies of Dashapur, he concludes that Kalidasa was a native of Dashapur, —modern Mandsaur—in western Malwa. But it must be borne in mind that temples of 'Skanda' are very rare in India and Kalidasa naturally makes mention of the temple of 'Skanda' near Mandsaur, because it was the only one on Yaksha's way to 'Alaka'. Again familiarity with the sportive glances of the ladies of the town does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the town was the birthplace of the poet. Kalidasa has given more or less detailed and accurate descriptions of many other places but none of them need be his birthplace.

A writer in the 'Prawasi' affirms that Kalidasa was a Bengali, because the poet in Meghaduta begins with 'Ashadha', a month with which the Bengali calendar commenced some time ago. But the poet begins Rutu-Sanhar with Jyeshtha. Again

Kalidasa's style is not 'Gaudy' and he does not write in that florid style which belongs to Bengalees alone even now.

Another theory is that Kalidasa was probably a native of Vidarbha or Berar as he dresses his Malavika in Malavikagnimitra in the Vidarbha style. Malavika was the princess of Vidarbha and thus it suited the genius of Kalidasa to adopt the Vidarbha style in his description. Nor can the Vaidarbha style of Kalidasa make him a native of Vidarbha (Berar) because this style belongs to poets of many other provinces. This theory, therefore, need not detain us longer.

Dr. Bhau Daji maintains that Kalidasa, although a resident of Ujjain, was in all likelihood a native of Kashmere because he draws his illustrations chiefly from the Himalayas. According to him, Kalidasa is the only Sanskrit poet who describes a living* saffron plant and this plant grows only in Kashmere and in the regions west of it. Pandit Laxmidhar Shastri of the Punjab University agrees with Bhau Daji and gives additional arguments in support of his theory. His arguments may be summed up thus :—

(1) There is not a single work of Kalidasa which does not make any reference to northern side

*दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कंधांल्लग्नकुंकुमकेसरान्. Raghu IV, 67 (b).

of the Himalayas, in or about Kashmere itself. The whole of Kumarasambhava, half of the Meghaduta, the first and fourth acts of Vikramorwashi, the seventh act of Shakuntala, the first, second and fourth cantoes of Raghuvansha are full of the descriptions of the Himalayas and chiefly of the region in or about Kashmere. The Bhupati or Bhuteshwar in Kumarasambhava can be no other than the 'Bhutesh' or modern 'Butes' in Kashmere. The Vashishthashrama in Raghuvansha with its Dewadaru trees, its caves and forests can be no other than the Vashishthashrama—modern Vangoth—situated about two miles below the 'Butes'. No other poet except Kalidasa has given such an accurate miniature painting of the scenes of the Himalayas. One, gifted with genius, can paint beauty, but a distant genius, however gifted he may be, cannot enter into *exact* details that can only be known by personal observation. Some personal touch of a very *close* type is necessary to explain, the frequent retreats of our poet to Himalayas. It is not mere love of nature that draws him to the Himalayas. The sites such as the Bhutesh, Nandikshetra and Vashishthashrama do not enjoy any popularity outside Kashmere. They only point to a Kashmerian writer, and to a unique love which the poet had for his native place.

(2) In works of Kalidasa, there are allusions to social customs and conventions which are peculiar to the Kashmerians. For instance,

(*a*) Reference to the breathing* in of smoke, on the part of the bride after the 'Lajahom' at the nuptial ceremony denotes the custom which is prevalent to this day in Kashmere.

(*b*) In Raghuvansha, Indumati† does not offer the wedding garland to Aja with her own hands, but asks her nurse to do so. This would appear curious to people of other parts of the country where the practice is that the bride offers the garland with her own hands. But it was an ancient marriage custom in Kashmere, known as the ' Mangal Mala Vidhi, ' according to which, the mother of the bride or in her absence any elderly lady of the bride's

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*वधूमुखं पाटलगण्डलेखमाराच धूमग्रहणाद्बभूव. Raghu VII, 27.

†सा चूर्णगौरं रघुनंदनस्य धात्री कराभ्यां करभोपमोरूः
आसंजयामास यथाप्रदेशं कंठे गुणं मूर्तमिवानुरागम् ।

Raghu VI, 83.

family whose husband is alive fastens the wedding garland round the neck of the bridegroom. This 'Mangal Mala Vidhi' stands for 'Kanyadan' in Kashmere which a mother of the bride has in other places to do.

(3) Vallabha, a commentator of Kalidasa, points out that the real hero of Meghaduta is Kalidasa himself, and an imaginary hero 'Yaksha' is conceived to heighten the effect of the poem. The personal feelings of the poet are expressed with such warmth and intimacy, that they cannot but be the result of an incident in his own life. The direction of home is significant and the feelings and sentiments represent the poet's own state of mind at a particular time of his life. 'Yakshas' are known as the inhabitants of Kashmere from ancient times. 'Yaksha,' modern 'Yatchha,' is still a popular family name in Kashmere. Numerous sites of their residence such as 'Yakshadhara,' 'Yakshagrama' are still in existence. The Kailasa mountain in Meghaduta, denotes the Kashmerian Kailas known as 'Haramukuta' or 'Haraparwat.'

(4) In Meghaduta, special reference is made to 'Vapi' or a spring in the town. According to Bilhana, 'Vapis' are scattered throughout Kashmere. They are so characteristic of the Kashmerian town.

(5) Kalidasa, in his mighty suggestive style records that the house of 'Yaksha' could be spotted by marks of 'Shankha'* and 'Padma' on its door-ways. Kalhana in his Rajatarangini brings out a comparison between Alaka and Kashmere, and points out that Kashmere is chiefly marked by its own lakes 'Shankha' and 'Padma.'

Now, in accordance with the description in Meghaduta, the native city of Kalidasa (1) must be situated in the valley below the 'Haramukuta' moun-tain on the bank of Kanak Vahini Ganga; (2) it must contain a 'Vapi'† or spring bound with steps, at the foot of a hill which gives a general view of the city; and (3) it must be a flourishing town and must be of some historical importance. All the above conditions are fulfilled by the ancient town of Maya-gam, modern Manigam, which is situated below the 'Haramukuta' mountain. It has also in its neigh-bourhood a hill which gives a view of the whole city. Ruins of an ancient temple are still noted in the vicinity. The town is not far below 'Vashishtha-shrama' and close to the 'Butes.' Lofty houses are now no more seen, but the very name 'Mayagram' suggests that the town was once noted for its archi-

*द्वारोपान्ते लिखितवपुषौ शंखपद्मौ च दृष्ट्वा. Megha U. 17.

†वापी चास्मिन् मरकतशिला बद्धसोपानमार्गा. Megha U. 13.

tecture, for, 'Maya' in the Kashmerian legends is represented as the great architect. Even 'Yakshas' too are known as great architects in Kashmere. Manigam is known even to this day for its numerous beautiful rice fields. This is probably the reason why the poet so frequently refers to the rice fields and shows his great familiarity with the crops of rice. Manigam may thus be noted as the home of Kalidasa in Kashmere. The topography and the description of the town of 'Alaka' as given in Meghaduta best agrees with Mayagram, modern Manigam. Thus Manigam in Kashmere is the ideal 'Alaka' of Kalidasa and he is himself the 'Yaksha' in Meghaduta.

We have given Laxmidhar Shastri's arguments in detail because, we are in agreement with him, so far as the country of Kashmere is concerned. About the town Manigam we have no comment to make. Laxmidhar Shastri fixes Manigam as the home of Kalidasa and supposes 'Alaka' as the ideal town, a town existing in conception only. Kalidasa belonged to Yaksha family and he made mention of Yaksha in Meghaduta. He had therefore no reason to conceal the real name of a town which was his birthplace. Jahangir in his memoirs makes mention of Alaka, the headquarters of the Kistawar district,

about 180 miles south of Shrinagar in Kashmere. It is highly probable, though not absolutely certain, that the Alaka of Kalidasa is the same Alaka visited by Jahangir during his tour of Kashmere. It is for the scholars to decide which of the two is the birthplace of Kalidasa.

Kalidasa must have been an inhabitant of Kashmere but he appears to have travelled much in India. Kalidasa suggests the cloud messenger to visit Ujjain*, even though it is not on its way from Ramgiri to Alaka. He has given in detail the description of Ujjain. This indicates that the poet was familiar with Ujjain and that he resided there for a long time.

At Mandsaur, his messenger cloud was made a target of the curious and lovely glances of its women. At Ujjain, he directs the cloud to make itself familiar with the fickle glances of its women. But at Alaka, he makes no such request to the cloud, although the Kashmerian women are no less beautiful and no less sportive. The contrast is significant and it shows that at Ujjain and at Mandsaur Kalidasa looks at the women with the eyes of a stranger;

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*वक्रः पन्था यदपि भवतः प्रस्थितस्योत्तराशां,
सौधोत्संगप्रणाविमुखो मास्म भूरुज्जयिन्याः ।
विद्युद्दामस्फुरितचकितैर्यत्र पौरांगनानाम्,
लोलापांगैर्यदि न रमसे लोचनैर्वंचितोसि ॥

Megha, P. 27.

while at Alaka or Mayagram, he had respect for its women as they belonged to his native place.

Now the question arises that if Kalidasa was a native of Kashmere why did not Kalhana, author of Rajatarangini, make mention of him in his history of Kashmere. The answer is simple and it is this that Kalidasa did not play any part in the political history of Kashmere. His literary career began and ended outside Kashmere.

We will now discuss the much disputed question as to when Kalidasa lived. One favourite theory is that Kalidasa flourished in the sixth century A. D. and resided in the court of Yashodharman, who assumed the title of Vikramaditya. The theory is based on the traditional association of Kalidasa with Vikramaditya, and the advocates of this theory support their arguments with a story from Rajatarangini wherein Kalhana mentions that a great powerful king of Malwa sent his court-poet Matrigupta to rule over Kashmere and Dr. Bhau Daji identifies Matrigupta with Kalidasa. But this identification is absurd as we have shown in the chapter on king Vikramaditya that Yashodharman, though he assumed the title of Vikramaditya, was not Vikramaditya I of Ujjain, who was according to tradition the contemporary of Kalidasa.

Prof. K. B. Pathak argues that Kalidasa mentions the *White* Huns as being on the banks of the Oxus,* and they came there in the fifth century A. D. according to recent historical research. Kalidasa therefore must have lived in the fifth century A. D. Sir Charles Elliot, Dr. Mayer, Col. Sykes and many other scholars and historians maintain, no doubt, that *White* Huns were found in the region of the Oxus between 420 and 494 A. D. But Kalidasa does not mention the *White* Huns. He makes mention of Huns in general and Huns generally are mentioned even in the Mahabharata as residing about this region which is a work of 300 B. C. The mention of Huns by Kalidasa, therefore, does not necessarily lead us to place him in the fifth century A. D.

Another pet theory is that Kalidasa lived at Ujjain in the court of Chandragupta II who, as is well known, also assumed the title of Vikramaditya and who lived about 400 A. D. Sir Vincent Smith, Mcdonnel and many other scholars advocate this theory. But Kalidasa could not have lived after Chandragupta II's conquest of the Shaka kings of Ujjain, the romantic story of which we have already given. Kalidasa in his Meghaduta mentions among other stories current among the country folk, only an

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*विनिताध्वश्रमास्तस्य वंक्षुतीरविचेष्टनैः. Raghu IV, 67 (a).

episode of Udayana and Vasawadatta. No incident relating to Shaka or Gupta period is mentioned by him as current among the common people. The romantic incident of Dhruvadevi—more romantic indeed than the elopement of Vasawadatta—was quite fresh in the memory of the people, and it should have found a place in Meghaduta, if Kalidasa had been a contemporary or if he had followed Chandragupta II, whereas Bana who lived in the seventh century A. D. makes mention of it. We therefore think that this theory is not tenable.

A somewhat later date is assigned to Kalidasa by Mr. Ramkumar Chaubey of Benares, who thinks from the use of the words 'Kumara' and 'Skanda' and their synonyms throughout the works of Kalidasa, that he flourished during the Gupta period in the reign of Kumara Gupta or Skanda Gupta. This theory is not of much value as Kalidasa could not have intended to convey a vague reference to his patrons, 'Kumara' and 'Skanda' which are used everywhere in his works in their ordinary well known senses.

Mallinatha, while commenting on the fourteenth verse of Meghaduta, supposes that Nichula and Dignaga were contemporaries of Kalidasa, and on this authority Max Müller places Kalidasa in the middle of the sixth century A. D. But Prof. Mcdonnel says that it is uncertain whether by Dignaga Mallinatha

means the Buddhist teacher Dignaga, who, according to Buddhist tradition, was a pupil of Vasubandhu. But the assertion, that Vasubandhu lived in the sixth century, depends chiefly on the Vikramaditya theory and is opposed to the Chinese evidence, which indicates that works of Vasubandhu were translated in 404 A. D. Moreover, Kalidasa, we think, would not have made a covert attack on his rivals. If Dignaga was his contemporary and his rival, he would have openly condemned him and still further, it may be noted, that throughout the works of Kalidasa, there is no word with 'Slesha' or pun, suggestive of two senses. This 'Alankar' was never used by Kalidasa and these words cannot bear the other sense put upon them by Mallinatha.

Kalidasa used the word 'Jamitra'* in Kumarasambhava. It is said that this word is borrowed from the Greeks. But there is nothing to support the statement that the word was imported in the days of Aryabhata in the fifth century A. D. Aryabhata, no doubt, borrowed many Greek words, but he was not the only borrower of words of Greek origin. Words of Greek origin were certainly used in India, when

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*अथौषधीनामधिपस्य वृद्धौ तिथौ च जामित्रगुणान्वितायाम्,
समेतबन्धुर्हिमवान् सुताया विवाहदीक्षाविधिमन्वतिष्ठत् ।

Kumar VII—1.

the first astronomical 'Siddhantas' were first formulated in Ujjain in the first century B. C. Such words might have come to India with the first batch of Greek invaders in the days of Alexander (320 B. C.). Again, on the authority of 'Sarvartha Chintamani' 'Jami' means a daughter and 'Jamitra' means that which protects the daughter and in this sense it does not smell of Greek origin.

Lastly, Prof. Sharada Ranjan Roy quotes a couple of verses from Aswaghosha and suggests that Aswaghosha copied the idea from Kalidasa's 'Raghuvansha' wherein occurs a poem importing the same* idea. On this supposition, he concludes that Kalidasa preceded Aswaghosha, who lived in 79 A. D. Prof. Cowell, on the same ground argues that Kalidasa finished the picture whose rough outline was drawn by Aswaghosha, and thus he lived after Aswaghosha.

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*वातायनेभ्यस्तु विनिःसृतानि परस्परोपासितकुंडलानि ।
स्त्रीणा विरेजुर्मुखपंकजानि सक्तानि हर्म्येष्विव पंकजानि ॥
वातायनानामविशालभावादन्योन्यगंडार्पितकुंडलानि ।
मुखानि रेजुः प्रमदोत्तमानां बद्धाः कलापा इव पंकजानाम् ॥
Aswaghosha, B. C.

तासांमुखैरासवगंधगर्भैर्व्याप्तान्तराः सांद्रकुतूहलानाम् ।
विलोलनेत्रैर्भ्रमरैर्गवाक्षाः सहस्रपत्रा भरणा इवासन् ॥
Raghu VII, 11.

आदित्यपूर्वं विपुलं कुलं ते नवं वयो दीप्तमिदं वपुश्च
कस्मादियं ते मतिरक्रमेण भैक्षाक एवाभिरता न राज्ये ॥
Aswaghosha B. C., X, 23.

एकातपत्रं जगतः प्रभुत्वं नवं वयः कान्तमिदं वपुश्च ।
अल्पस्य हेतोर्बहु हातुमिच्छन् विचारमूढः प्रतिमासि मे त्वम् ॥
Raghu II, 4.

We cannot say who made an exhibition of stolen goods. Perhaps neither of them is guilty of theft, for similarity of expressions and ideas appear in different poets and no inference can be made regarding which poet borrowed from another. Such similar expressions cannot assist us in fixing the date of any poet.

We have noted above the various theories put forth by different scholars, suggesting different dates for Kalidasa, all ranging from the beginning of the fourth to the end of the sixth century A. D. and examined them according to our light. We will now go on to examine further evidence put forth by scholars who advocate the theory of the first century B. C.

In Malavikagnimitra, Kalidasa refers to the poets, Bhasa and Saumilla. Of Saumilla, we know nothing. But Bhasa whose dramas have now been found out, lived in the fourth or fifth century B. C. Kalidasa therefore ought to be placed shortly after Bhasa and not after a long interval of six centuries as the advocates of 5th and 6th century theory maintain.

Professor Paranjape maintains that the real proof of the age of Kalidasa can be found in a critical study of his works and he refers to some details in Malavi-

kagnimitra which were then fresh in people's memory. Some of them are as follows :—

Firstly, Agnimitra had two queens. Virasena of Vidarbha was a brother of the senior queen Dharini and he was of a lower caste, a fact, which need not have been mentioned at all. Secondly, Pushyamitra, writing a letter* to his son Agnimitra and inviting him for Aswamedha, requests him to come with a mind devoid of anger. Now history does not know of any incident which had enraged Agnimitra against his father and Kalidasa refers to it simply, because his audience was familiar with the incident which has been forgotten in course of time. Prof. Wilson admits the strength of this argument and says 'The events of his reign, which are familiarly alluded to, were not of a character to have survived any very protracted interval in popular recollection.' These two facts, and particularly the second which is the most important, naturally lead us to conclude that Kalidasa must have lived within a century or so after Pushyamitra whose rule ended in 148 B. C.

Further going on to Raghuvansha, we find, in the description of Digvijaya of Raghu, Huns † located

*तदिदानीमकालहीनं विगतरोषचेतसा
भवता वधूजनेन सह यज्ञसेवनायागन्तव्यमिति ।
Malavikagnimitra.

†तत्र हूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम्,
कपोलपाटलादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् । Raghu IV.

to the north of Kashmere and nowhere in India. This time can only be before the fourth century A. D. when they had already come to India. Even 'Yawanas' * (Greeks) were not in India at the time of Kalidasa. They are located by him in Afghanistan. Now the Greeks were in India in the days of Alexander (320 B. C.). They were driven out of the Punjab by Chandragupta of the Maurya dynasty. Greeks came back to India again in the days of Menander (150 B. C.) but they were driven away by Vasumitra of the Shunga dynasty some time about 125 B. C. The Greeks never came to India hereafter. They had no kingdom in India nor in Afghanistan after 150 A. D. It seems therefore reasonable that Kalidasa's time must be placed some time between 120 B. C. and 150 A. D.

Having sandwitched Kalidasa's time between 125 B. C. and 150 A. D. we now proceed to examine further evidence with a view to see whether the age of Kalidasa can be still further limited. We have a fresh evidence in Raghuvansha where the Swayamwar of Indumati is described. There we find a reference to a Pandya king who is styled 'Lord of

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*पारसिकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना,
यवनीमुख पद्मानां सेहे मधुमदं न सः । Raghu IV, 60, 61.

Uragapore'*. This mention of Uragapore, as pointed out, by Mr. C. V. Vaidya, fixes the date of Kalidasa as preceding the first century A. D. Uragapore puzzled Mallinath and he translated it into Nagpore. But, as stated elsewhere, proper names are untranslatable and we have to find out a city which was the capital of the Pandyas and which was named Uragapore. Now recent research has shown that ancient Pandyas had a capital named Urayur which is a Prakrit form of Uragapore and that this capital was destroyed by the Cholas in the first century A. D. The remains of this town were recently discovered near Trichnopoly. Uragapore thus destroyed in the first century A. D. could not be properly explained by Mallinath, who lived in the tenth century A. D. The Pandyas again came to power about 200 A. D. and they made Madura, their capital. If Kalidasa lived in the fourth or fifth century A. D., he would have mentioned Pandyas as Lord of Madura and not as Lord of Uragapore. Kalidasa

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*अथोरगाख्यस्य पुरस्य नाथं दौवारिकी देवसभामुपेत्य,
इतश्चकोराक्षि विलोकयेति पूर्वानुशिष्टां निजगाद भोज्याम् ।
पांड्योयमंसार्पित लंबहार: क्लृप्तांगरागो हरिचंदनेन,
आभाति बालातपरक्तसानुः सनिर्झरोद्गार इवाद्रिराजः ॥

Raghu VI, 59, 60.

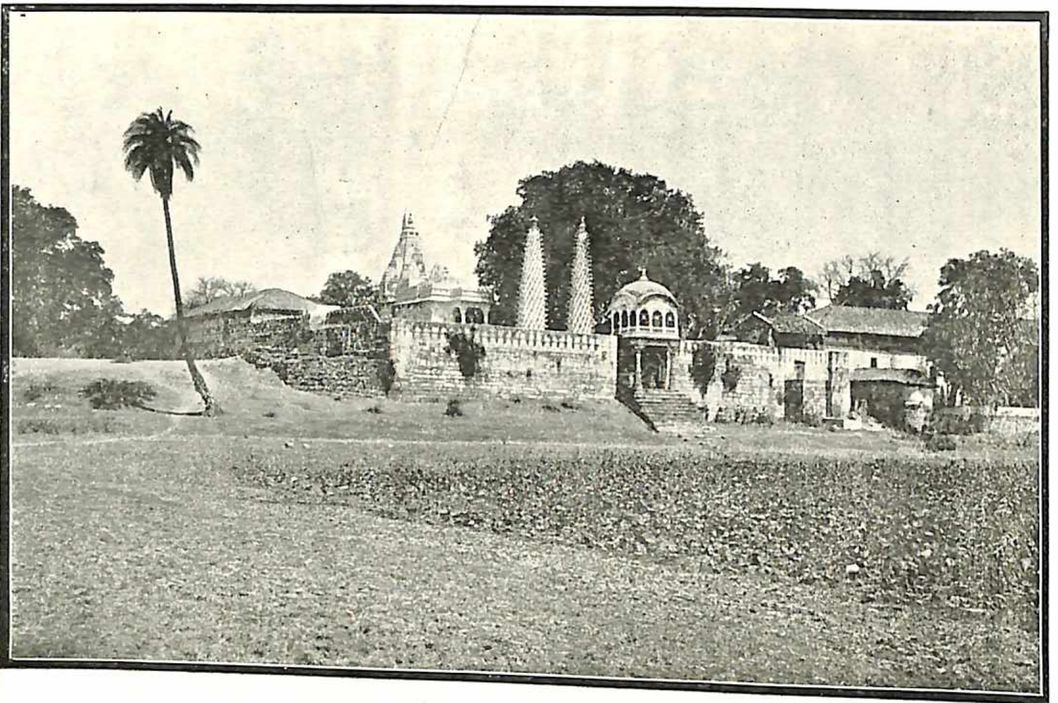
therefore lived before the destruction of Uragapore, which took place in the beginning of Christian era.

This fixes the time of Kalidasa. He must have lived some time between the final extermination of Greeks by Vasumitra and the downfall of Uragapore. This means some time in the first century B. C. or early in the first century A. D. But as the name of Kalidasa is associated with king Vikramaditya I, as his court poet, he should also be placed along with Vikramaditya in the latter half of the first century B. C.

CHAPTER IX.

KING VIKRAMADITYA I.

THE question, who was the first king, in Indian history, named Vikramaditya, is not yet settled and scholars—both Indian and Western—are still fighting over it. That there were many Vikramadityas in Indian history is out of question. Chandragupta II who conquered Ujjain from the Shakas about 388 A. D. is called Vikramaditya, a name which is shortened in his coins as 'Shri Vikrama', 'Sinha Vikrama ' or ' Vikramanka. ' The next king in Indian history, who is named Vikramaditya, is Yashodharman of Mandsaur who defeated the Huns and raised at Mandsaur a victory pillar in 533 A. D. The other kings, named Vikramaditya, belonged to Chalukya dynasty in the Deccan, the last of them being Vikramanka, who ruled between 1076 and 1126 A.D. There is one more Vikramaditya in the history of Kashmere. But these Vikramadityas of the Deccan and Kashmere, however, do not come into this controversy, as they do not possess any of the following four characteristics which are the distin-



Temple of Har-Siddhi.

guishing marks of the original Vikramaditya in popular traditions, namely :—

(1) He was the Shakari or the vanquisher of the Shakas.

(2) He ruled in Ujjain.

(3) He was the patron or at least the contemporary of Kalidasa, and.

(4) He was associated with the Samvat Era of 57 B. C.

The contest thus, as to who was the first Vikramaditya lies between Chandragupta II and Yashodharman.

We will now first give the arguments of those, who believe Chandragupta II to be the first Vikramaditya.

Sir R.G. Bhandarkar says that Chandragupta II conquered Malwa in 388 A. D. and exterminated the Shakas, *i. e.*, Satraps from Malwa. He assumed the title of Vikramaditya and made Ujjain his capital. For certain chieftains of the name of Guptas in the Dharwar district give themselves in their inscriptions the title, which signifies that they belonged to a family, which once ruled in glory at Ujjain. They trace their descent through Vikramaditya specified as king of Ujjain. Sir Bhandarkar further says that

Chandragupta II, after the conquest of Malwa, resided in all probability at Ujjain. Other historians endorse his views and maintain that Chandragupta II made Ujjain his second capital.

This theory, no doubt, fulfills the two requirements that Chandragupta II was a Shakari and that he ruled at Ujjain. But he could not have started the era of 57 B. C. Scholars try to explain this fact by supposing that Chandragupta II in memory of his exploits, changed the Malava era into Vikrama era. But this theory is quite untenable as we have shown in our chapter on the Shaka and Samvat era. Further, Kalidasa could not have been his contemporary, because, Kalidasa, as we have explained before, certainly belonged to earlier time. He cannot be placed in the fourth century A. D. It therefore appears to us that Chandragupta II could not have been the first Vikramaditya of popular legend.

Coming next to Yashodharman of Mandsaur, Max Müller says that king Harsha of Ujjain, surnamed Vikramaditya, defeated the 'Mlenchhas' at the battle of Korur in 544 A. D., expelled them from India and in commemoration of the victory, founded the Vikrama era. He dated his new era 600 years back, thus making it appear as if it commenced in 57 B. C.

These words of Max Müller, no doubt, point out to Yashodharman of Mandsaur, for, Harsha never ruled at Ujjain. But he defeated the Huns and not the Shakas and therefore he is not Shakari. Secondly, there is no reason why he should date back his exploits or his era 600 years back. Thirdly, he never annexed Ujjain to his kingdom, nor made Ujjain his capital and lastly he could not have been a contemporary of Kalidasa, though some scholars look upon Matrigupta and Kalidasa as one and the same person. In Rajatarangini, we read that Vikramaditya of Ujjain sent an eminent poet of his court, Matrigupta, to rule in Kashmere. He ruled there till the death of his patron, when he retired as a Sanyasi to Benares. Dr. Bhau Daji is of opinion, that this Matrigupta is no other than the poet Kalidasa and he argues that Matrigupta and Kalidasa both mean the same person. Matrigupta means 'Protected by the mother Kali' and Kalidasa means 'the servant of Kali.' But we are not quite sure if the date given in Rajatarangini of the reign of Matrigupta in Kashmere tallies with the date of Yashodharman, and even if it does, and though Yashodharman may be accepted to be so powerful as to be the overlord of Kashmere, yet we think that Matrigupta cannot be Kalidasa, for Kalhana would certainly have mentioned his true name and

fame in the history of Kashmere. And, secondly, proper names are not translatable. Chandrashekhar and Shashi Bhushan both mean the same thing, but as proper names, they cannot be confounded with one another. Otherwise, history would be a jumble. In short, Yashodharman cannot be the first Vikramaditya of the popular legend, for he was neither Shakari, nor a contemporary of Kalidasa, nor did he rule in Ujjain.

If neither Chandragupta II nor Yashodharman was the first Vikramaditya, then the only alternative left to us is to believe in the Vikramaditya of popular tradition who ruled in Ujjain in the first century B. C. to be a historical personage. His exploits were so great that his name became an enviable title like Cæsar in European history and other kings who followed were anxious to assume it. But the difficulty in believing in such a historical personage is that there is no historical record to prove the existence of such a person. 'It has long been,' says Max Müller, 'an open secret that there is absolutely no documentary evidence of the existence of such a king Vikramaditya in the first century B. C.' Under this idea, European scholars try to offer solution by suggesting such untenable theories as changing the name of Malava era into Vikrama era or antedating a victory by 600 years.

In the Prakrit 'Saptashati Gatha' of Hala, a reference is made to a powerful king named Vikrama. Hala was a Satawahan king of Paithan who ruled, undoubtedly, in the first century A. D. The Vikrama referred to by him, can be no other than the Vikrama who preceded him in the first century B. C. The 'Saptashati Gatha' of Hala is a work, the authenticity and antiquity of which is undoubted. This reference makes us to believe that the legendary Vikramaditya of the first century B. C. was a historical person. He was a Shakari, he ruled in Ujjain, and he was also the contemporary of Kalidasa. His name was associated with Malava era, though he cannot be said to have founded it.

In conclusion, the first Vikramaditya, as happily observed by Col. Luard, lived in the first century B. C. and the second Vikramaditya—Chandragupta II—in the close of fourth and early in the fifth century A. D. Both were Shakaris or enemies of Shaka. The first defeated the first batch of Shakas in the Punjab and annexed Punjab to his kingdom of Ujjain and the second Vikramaditya vanquished the second batch of Shakas or Kshatraps who ruled at Ujjain and annexed the province of Malwa to Magadha The first belonged to Malava tribe and the second to Gupta dynasty. The first kept Ujjain his capital and the second made Ujjain the

seat of his viceroyalty. In short, Vikramaditya of popular tradition was Vikramaditya I of Ujjain, who by his valour, made his name an enviable title.

The life of Vikramaditya, as it is known till now, is, no doubt, mixed with many an inconsistency and impossibility. He is said to have lived in penance for fourteen hundred years in the temple of Harsiddhi. This is certainly an exaggeration of his ascetic life. He, no doubt, lived in the garb of a mendicant, before he came to the throne of Ujjain, in order to get an insight into foreign policy. But in this garb, he lived in foreign countries. Again a tradition asserts that in his court, flourished the nine gems, Varahamihir, Vararuchi, Kalidasa and others. This tradition is based on a verse in Jyotirwidabharan* which itself is a work of eleventh century A. D. It absurdly brings together all the noted men up to that time into one line. The nine gems mentioned in the verse are known to have lived at different periods and to have belonged to different countries. Traditions often jumble together persons and things belonging to different times and different climes. The stanza therefore has no historical value and taken in its literal sense, it has no

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*धन्वन्तरि क्षपणकामरसिंहशंकु वेतालभट्टघटखर्परकालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥

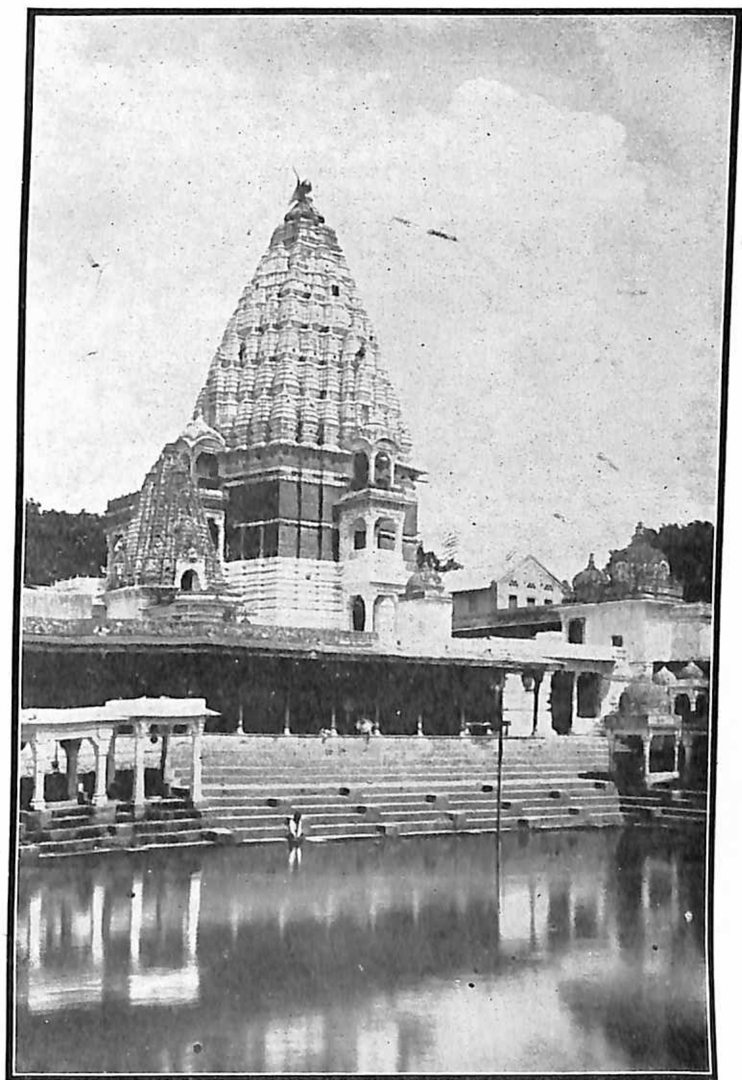
meaning. It only signifies that Vikramaditya was a patron of learning. He patronised poets, astronomers and scholars. He, in his time, put an end to the traditional belief that wealth and learning are ever at war and can never go hand in hand.

CHAPTER X.

THREE RELIGIONS.

THE Indo-Aryans according to Mr. C.V. Vaidya, came to India about 4000 B. C. and spreading through the Punjab southward, came to Malwa and Ujjain in very ancient days which cannot be later than 3000 B. C. As already shown, the two kings of Ujjain—Vinda and Anuvinda—were on the side of the Kaurawas in the great Mahabharata fight, which, according to Mr. C. V. Vaidya, took place in 3102 B. C. Naturally enough, the inhabitants of Ujjain were Vedic in religion. This religion consisted of prayers to Vedic deities and animal sacrifice. Indeed animal sacrifice was practised by the people of the Aryan race in all the countries and in different branches. The prosperous town of Ujjain soon became a sacred place and from that time down to the present day, Ujjain is one of the seven sacred cities of Hinduism.

We know that the early Vedic religion of animal sacrifice soon became unpopular and the religion of renunciation or Sanyasa was preached and



Temple of Mahakal (view from Koli Nitha).

developed by the 'Upanishads' from about 2500 to 2000 B. C. The Bhagwat Gita tries to establish an equilibrium between Vedant and Karma-Marga or the philosophy of the Upanishads and the religion of sacrifice. We are not quite sure if Ujjain is mentioned in Upanishads but the 'Puranas' state that Shri Krishna, the *teacher* of Bhagwat Gita, studied in Ujjain under Sandipani. We may, therefore, believe that Ujjain was also a place where Vedant philosophy was taught.

The religion of sacrifice became again predominant during the days of Shrauta Sutras. Superstition and priest-craft proved too powerful. Sacrifices and rituals grew apace. This horrid nature of Shrauta sacrifices naturally gave rise to two kindred religions —Buddhism and Jainism—which went to the other extreme length of denying not only the efficacy of sacrifices, but even the authority of Vedas. These two religions were nearly contemporary in their rise.

Buddhism was taught and propounded by Gautam* Buddha early in the fifth century B. C. 'Bud-

*Siddharth-Gautama was born in 557 B. C. at Kapilvastu, capital of Shakyas, on the border of Oudh and Nepal. His father was king Sudhodana of the Gautama clan of Kshatriyas. The youth was of a religious temperament of mind from early age and he abandoned his wife, his newly born son and all princely luxuries at the age of 28. He passed some years in contemplation at Gaya and became en-

dha's glory consists,' says Max Müller, 'not in having discovered new truths but in having emphasised the ethical aspect of the Upanishads at the time when exclusive attention to dry forms and cumbrous rituals had robbed the Hindu religion of its life. It was not the metaphysical, but the ethical side of the doctrine of Buddhism that proved more attractive and influenced the masses. About 200 years after the death of Gautam Buddha (264 B. C.), Ashoka, the then Emperor of India, was converted to Buddhism, which receiving royal support, spread rapidly throughout India, and naturally at Ujjain, it obtained a strong foothold. By the royal command, Buddhist gatherings were held at Ujjain, every third year. Buddhism flourished in Ujjain, from the days of Ashoka down to the time of Harsha of Kanauj in the 7th century A. D., when it began to decline, for, the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang who visited Ujjain in 641 A. D. mentions that there were only two Buddha-Vihars there and they too were in a delapidated condition.

The second religion, which was preached in protest against the horrid Shrauta sacrifices, was

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lightened (one who knows the mystery of the world). He preached his religion first at Benares and soon gathered hundreds of desciples and thousands of followers. He died in 477 B. C.

Jainism. It was preached by one Vardhaman Mahavir* about the same time as Buddhism and though it did not then progress much, it still survives in India. This religion originally spread in Magadha till about 300 B. C., when according to a legend in the Kalakacharya Kathanak, owing to a famine in Magadha, Bhadrabahu with some of the Jain disciples left Magadha and came down as far as Ujjain. The Jains were welcome there. They lived in peace, though they had no royal support.

Thus from the third century B. C. Ujjain became an important centre of Jainism and Buddhism. They were alternately supported and patronised by kings and viceroys of Ujjain, for, Samprati, a successor of Ashoka, was a Jain, according to a Jain tradition. But Buddhism was more prevalent there. It is said 'Buddhism was born in Nepal, spread in Magadha and flourished in Avanti.'

*Vardhaman was born about 600 B. C. Kapil-Sutra tells us that he was conceived in the womb of Dewananda, wife of a Brahmin Rishabha-Dutta in Kundagram in Behar. He married a lady named Yeshoda and had by her a daughter. He retired from the world at the age of 30 in 570 B. C., and became a homeless monk. After one year, he laid aside every kind of garment and went about as a naked ascetic. He practised austerities and meditation for 12 years and at the age of 42 he styled himself as Mahaweer—a great hero, and Jaina-conqueror—and began to preach his religion and philosophy, now known as Jainism which means a religion of Jaina. He may be regarded as the founder of Jain religion though Jains believe in 23 Tirthankars preceding him.

But it must be remembered that these three religions lived peacefully side by side in Ujjain. There was a spirit of toleration among their followers. In truth, these three religions are not entirely three independent camps. Jainism and Buddhism are, in fact, the offshoots of Vedic religion. For, both of them are based on Sankhya philosophy and they revered the life of monks or ascetics preached in the Upanishads.

As may be expected, Vedic religion of animal sacrifice re-asserted itself again and for a time became supreme in India. Pushyamitra of the Shunga dynasty performed the horse sacrifice, so typical of the Shrauta religion of sacrifice. Pushyamitra's son, Agnimitra, then ruled over Ujjain and the supremacy of Vedic religion was again established.

A new form however was assumed hereafter by the Vedic religion. It was in the form of 'Linga' worship associated with the worship of Rudra in Vedas. The Vedic idea of Rudra was that of a universal deity ever present behind the changing phenomena of the world. When this amalgamation of 'Linga' and 'Rudra' worships took place we cannot say. But there is a clear mention of 'Rudra' being worshipped in the form of 'Linga' in the Mahabharata of about 300 B. C. Ujjain thus became famous

for worship of Mahakala which is in the 'Linga' form. We are certain that Mahakala was famous throughout India in the days of Vikramaditya I and Kalidasa and it may be taken that the fame of Ujjain as a seat of Shiva worship goes back to the first century B. C. at least.

This new form of Vedic religion placed the worship of idols in the forefront and soon idols of different deities such as Devi, Vishnu, Ganapati, were added to those of Shiva which was originally in the 'Linga' form. This idol worship was certainly borrowed from Buddhism and Jainism. These two religions had originally no idols, for, both denied the existence of God. But gradually Buddha and Jaina themselves began to be worshipped and images of Buddha and of 24 Tirthankars of Jainism began to be placed in temples and worshipped by the followers of these religions.

Buddhism of Mahayana* school first introduced this change about 200 B. C. Hinduism copied this idol worship and Hindu temples with Hindu images of Shiva, Vishnu and Durga arose about this time. These temples soon became places of public worship.

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*Mahayana sect of Buddhism is a faith where the goal is to secure the salvation of all beings as opposed to Hinayana sect where the concern is to secure one's own salvation.

Under the rule of Vikramaditya and that of Shaka dynasty, Ujjain was under Hindu sovereigns who were the worshippers of Mahakal. Buddhism rallied again in the days of Kanishka and his successors but did not come to Ujjain. When the Shaka dynasty was subverted by Chandragupta II, Ujjain came under the rule of the Guptas who were staunch Hindus but worshippers of Vishnu. Apparently Shiva worship still flourished in Ujjain. It later assumed the horrid form of 'Aghorpantha' and 'Kapalika' which we find there in the days of Shankaracharya. Shiva worship thus degenerated into several sects, each of which had its own tenets and symbols.

Towards the end of the Gupta period, the modern eighteen Puranas were evolved out of the one old Purana that existed in the days of the Upanishads and out of these eighteen Puranas ten are devoted to the glorification* of Shiva. We do not know where these Puranas were formulated, but that Ujjain was one of the great centres of Shiva worship may be deduced from the fact that in the Skanda Purana there is a special Khand or division devoted to the description of the eighty-four 'Lingas' of Shiva

*अष्टादश पुराणेषु दशभिर्गीयते शिवः ।

which had become objects of popular worship in and about Ujjain.

These Puranas gave a new form to Hinduism and the Vedic fire worship gradually receded into the background. The worship of five Pauranic deities,—namely, Shiva, Vishnu, Ganapati, Durga and Aditya—became general. The worshippers of these different deities began to fight with one another representing their own God as the supreme one. The correction of this evil was a spiritual necessity, and Shankaracharya came forward. He preached his Advaita philosophy at a time when India was torn by dissensions in many religions and their manifold sects and sub-sects. The Vedic sacrificial religion also raised its head again about the same time and added its own voice to the turmoil of religious dissensions. Kumaril, a great disputant and scholar, laid stress on the supremacy of religion of Vedic sacrifice at this very time and wrote his well-known commentary on Shabar Bhashya of Jaimini Sutras known as Purwa Mimansa. Shankaracharya*

*Shankar was born in an obscure village Keladi in Malabar in 788 A.D. His father was Shiva-guru of Nambudri class of Brahmins. He lost his father, when he was only seven years of age and his widowed mother had to take care of his education. He learned Vedas and Vedangas in his native country, and in spite of his mother's opposition, he left his home at the age of 16. He went to the hermitage on the bank of the Narmada presided over by a Sanyasi by name Govindacharya, the disciple of Gaudapada. There he embraced

evolved order out of this chaos. He moved about through the whole of India and established the supremacy of his doctrine by defeating the teachers of other philosophies in open religious contest. At Ujjain, Shankaracharya was opposed by a Kapalika ascetic. As stated in Shankardigvijaya he disputed with the Acharya, urging the sanctity of the practices of Kapalikas.* He was defeated in argument, but he

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Sanyasa, practised Yoga and prosecuted his studies in Vedant. He then went to Benares and propagated his Advait Philosophy there. His learned Bhashya on Badarayan's Vedant Sutra and on the chief ten Upanishads and Bhagwat Gita collectively known as Prasthanatraya have made his name immortal. His next mission was to teach and preach Advait (Monism) expounding the truth of Tat-twam-asi (that thou art). His controversy with Mandan Misra at Mahismati is well-known. It was agreed between themselves that who ever be defeated would take on himself the role of life adopted by his opponent. Mandan Misra was the follower of Purwa Mimansa—Philosophy of Kumaril—and was thus an advocate of animal sacrifice. The controversy ended in the defeat of Mandan Misra. He embraced Sanyasa and was named Sureshwaracharya. He remained with Shankaracharya till he was posted at the head of Shringiri Matha in the south. Mandan's gifted wife Bharati accompanied them and it is said that she was a great help to Shankaracharya in his revival of Vedant Hinduism. Shankaracharya established his second Matha at Puri on the east coast which goes by the name of Govardhan Matha. He established two more Mathas—one at Dwarka, on the west coast, and another at Badrinarayan in the Himalayas. Having thus finished his life's work, he disburdened himself of his mortal coil at Kedarnath in 820 A. D.

*Aghorpantha or Kapalika is a sect of Shiva worshipper in a degenerated form. It conceives Shiva with his residence in the burial ground surrounded by ghosts and besmeared with ashes of human corpses.

and his sect had to be put down. King Sudhanwa, who is said to have accompanied the Acharya from Malabar and the Viceroy of Ujjain under the king of Kanauj, co-operated with Shankaracharya in finally getting rid of this horrid form of Shiva worship. At this time, there lived at Ujjain a learned man, Bhutta Bhaskar. He wrote a commentary on all the Vedas. He was an advocate of religion of sacrifice. Shankaracharya had a discussion with him and he was induced to be the follower of the Acharya.

Shankaracharya had next to fight with more learned professors of Buddhism and he succeeded in defeating them in metaphysical and philosophical discussions. Buddhism, by this time, was already ripe for a fall. The monks who lived in splendid Vihars, liberally endowed by kings and wealthy merchants, had become luxurious and led an indolent life. The addition of nunneries to monasteries led to the fall of both monks and nuns in morals as in the West. Buddhism, consequently having been defeated in philosophy, soon lost ground, but monastic tendency was still alive and could not be altogether suppressed. Shankaracharya therefore had to institute ten classes of Hindu ascetics corresponding to Jain Ganas and these survive even to-day. The institutions of Mahants and Sadhus of to-day,

therefore, cannot but be traced back to those of monks and nuns among the Jains and Buddhists.

Shankaracharya could not also drive away idolatry, from among the Hindus, which had become popular from the example of the Buddhist and Jain idolatries. In Pauranic literature, the worship of Shiva, Vishnu, Sun, Devi and Ganapati is mentioned. But they are the different aspects of one supreme God and their idols are only means to an end. The power lies in the devotion and not in the idols. This, the Hindus had lost sight of. They took the copy for the real, used different shapes of idols for different aspects of God and thus gave birth to an idea of plurality of Gods. This conception is, no doubt, absurd and it gave rise to many sects and sub-sects with their difference of opinion. This led to quarrels and consequently to the weakness of Hindu religion.

Shankaracharya, himself an Advait philosopher, foresaw the result. He therefore ordered the worship of Panchayatan or a group of five different idols together.

The third and greatest concession which Shankaracharya gave to Buddhist and Jain feelings was the adoption by Brahmins and Vaishyas of vegetable diet. The philosophy of animal sacrifice preached by Purwa Mimansa as interpreted by Kumaril was

shown to be inferior and he ordered to give up flesh eating at all. He thus found it easy to convert Jains and Buddhists into Hinduism. The tenet of non-injury was originally preached by the Upanishads, but bloody animal sacrifices still prevailed among Vedic Aryans and whenever Buddhism was supplanted animal sacrifices were performed to mark the success of Vedic religion. Buddhism again became powerful and animal sacrifices were in abeyance for about five centuries. Samudragupta of Gupta dynasty again performed Aswamedha which is said to have been long neglected. Animal sacrifices were again current and continued for about three hundred years, but from the days of Shankaracharya we find no record for any horse sacrifice, being performed, though animal sacrifice is not quite extinct. Modern Hinduism thus borrowed the three prominent characteristics from Buddhism, namely, institution of Sadhus, idolatry and vegetarian diet.

With due respect to Shri Shankaracharya, let us give vent to a bit of our mind. Shankaracharya ordered the worship of Panchayatan with a view to bring close together the five different sects and thus keep unity among all the Hindus. This shows that at the time of the Acharya, there were only five sects among the Hindus. Shankaracharya was

a monotheistic philosopher and was above idol worship. This is not a place to enter into the question whether idol worship is sanctioned by the Vedas. But the worship of invisible being not within the grip of the masses, idol worship as a means to concentrate mind must have come in vogue. In fact, idolatry taken in its more literal sense is a kind of symbology, or a worship of a thing seen and symbols in one shape or another we all vitally need up to a certain stage of spiritual advancement. The Christians have a cross, the Mohammadans respect the crescent. The Tazia of Mohammadans is a copy of the Kaba. Buddhists and Jains have the images of Buddha and Tirth-ankars. Idol therefore is not a thing to be dis-carded, provided it is always kept in mind that it is the copy and not the original. The defect certainly is not in the worship of an idol, but in forgetting the true significance of idols and thereby creating plurality of gods. The plurality of idols gives birth to plurality of sects. The followers of these sects quarrel among themselves to prove their own superiority and the superiority of the idols they worship and thus unity of the nation is at stake. Shankaracharya tried to bring close together the followers of different sects by ordering the worship of a group of five different idols together.

But he could not succeed in his object. In spite of his attempts the idols multiplied themselves into legions, thus creating a number of sects and sub-sects. The idea of unity is thus far away.

The second evil aspect of idolatry is due to the inclination of kings and wealthy persons to lavish wealth on temples. Making idols of gold and decorating them with rubies and diamonds creates a temptation for marauders and they are induced to plunder the wealth of the temples and the towns. The loot of Somnatha by Mahmud of Gazni and the destruction of the temples of Mahakal and Vishveshwar by Sultan Altamash and Aurangzeb are instances. These Mohammadan plunderers did not destroy the temples out of religious zeal but simply to obtain the enormous wealth contained therein. For, nowhere in history, we find a single instance of destroying a temple where a plunderer had no means to satiate his greed. We have instances of kidnapping children simply for the sake of ornaments they wear. The destruction of wealthy temples comes under the same catagory.

Avarice makes no difference in any religion. Mahmud* of Gazni broke the idol of Somnatha and decorated the walls of the Jami mosque at

*History of India by Sir H. Elliot, Vol. II, page 387-88.

Bukhara with the rubies and diamonds obtained from the loot of Somnatha temple. Changis Khan of the Moghul family, himself a Mohammadan, looted the same mosque, ascended the pulpit, broke the chests which contained copies of Qurans, converted the chests into horse-troughs and kicked the leaves of the Quran in the midst of impurities. He singled out Mullas and priests for the special duty of taking charge of the horses. In this very mosque, he circulated wine among his followers and courtesans were called in to dance and sing. This fact corroborates our assertion that it is the greed of money, and not a zeal for religion, that induced foreigners to plunder the Hindu temples.

Buddhism and Jainism held renunciation in high esteem. They allowed people of all castes, men and women, old and young, to become monks and nuns, and pass a life of idleness and begging. This morbid feeling towards renunciation was so deep-rooted in the minds of the people that though at the time of Shankaracharya Buddhism was ripe for death and Jainism not consolidated, Buddhists and Jains could not be converted to Hinduism and in order to gain his object, Shankaracharya, himself the greatest philosopher, had recourse to give-and-take policy of a politician. He had therefore to

institute ten classes of Hindu* ascetics or Sadhus corresponding to Jain Ganas as a tenet of his new doctrine, he preached and he thus succeeded in converting Buddhists and Jains to Hinduism. He, however, restricted asceticism to Brahmin males only. But the modern Hindus do not respect this restriction and thousands of men, irrespective of caste, sex or age have embraced the profession of Sadhus to enable them to lead an indolent life. They pass their time, not so much in devotional prayer as in the unceasing struggle to live by beggary. We do not wish to be misunderstood. A few of the Sadhus are really good and learned men, but the majority of them are irreligious and uneducated. Under a cloak of brown or reddish colour, they are a source of many a mischief and have brought their order into contempt. They are, no doubt, a drain on country's wealth.

The third injunction of Shankaracharya is the prohibition of non-vegetarian diet. It is based on the principle of Ahimsa or non-injury to animal. It belongs to the old Aryan religion, as preached in the Upanishads. But Buddhism carried the prin-

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*तीर्थाश्रम वनारण्या गिरिपर्वत सागराः ।
सरस्वती भारती च पुरी नामानि वैद्श ॥
श्रीमत् शंकराचार्य प्रणीतो मठाम्नाय

ciple to extreme. It is said of one of the buddhist kings of Malwa that he gave strained water even to elephants and horses, lest insects might be killed. Modern thinkers, to quote Swami Vivekanand*, for instance, have now directed their attention to the efficacy of meat-eating. According to them a nation which adopts and practises abstinence from animal food becomes incapable to resist. It cannot hold its own in the struggle of nations. A non-flesh eating people cannot possess the physical stamina, the mental grip and the tenacity, so necessary for success in fighting. Even now the fighting races are the Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Jats, and the Gurkhas. They are all flesh-eating people and they have certainly proved their capacity for resistance The vegetarian diet, no doubt, gives strength. It gives the power of persistence but not that of resistance. Hindus knew no foreign invasion before the third century B. C. buddhists and Jains first took to vegetarian diet. Still a large number of Hindus were the followers of Aryan religion and they partook of flesh diet. Before the close of the 8th century

*So long as man shall have to live an active life, under circumstances like the present, there is no other way except through meat-eating. It is true that the Emperor Ashoka saved the lives of millions of animals by the threat of the sword, but is not the slavery of a thousand years more dreadful than that?

Epistles of Swami Vivekanand (*24th April 1897*), 1st Series, Page 75.

they fought many a battle with foreigners and though they suffered temporary losses, they succeeded in the long run to drive the foreigners out. But the prohibitive order of non-vegetarian diet resulted in the weakness of Hindus as a nation. Vegetarian diet is certainly a great help in the pursuit of intellectual and spiritual study. But it involves the loss of so valuable a possession as political independence. A vegetarian preserves the head but looses the hand. He can think, he can argue, but he is unable to give blow for blow. Taking the life of a few goats is sinful, so they say; but to be unable to protect the honour of one's own wife and daughter and to remain slave for ever is more sinful indeed. This advocacy for flesh diet is, no doubt, revolting to delicate sentiment, but reason welcomes it and present day experience confirms it. It is, however, not the main cause, but it is one of the principal causes of the downfall of Hindus, if not of India.

Shankaracharya, on the other hand, succeeded in re-establishing the sanctity of the Vedas as a revelation. The study of Vedas was revived and we find that 'Uwat' who lived at Ujjain about 900 A. D. wrote a commentary on Shukla Yajurveda. We also find that there was one Bhatta Bhaskar who had written commentaries on all the Vedas in the days of Shankaracharya. He also belonged to Ujjain.

Since the days of Shankaracharya, modern Hinduism as described above became established in Ujjain and was the religion of its rulers in the days of the famous Parmar kings. Later on, a wave of Jainism came upon it, and some kings of the Deccan and Gujarat became converts to it. Ujjain however does not record any Jain king in the Parmar or succeeding dynasty. There was, however, an influx of Shwetambar* Jains from Gujarat into

*The Jain ascetics were originally naked, but subsequently they clothed themselves in white garments. According to a legend in the Kalkacharya-kathanak there was a severe famine in Magadha about 300 B. C. during the reign of Chandra Gupta Maurya dynasty. Bhadrabahu, with some of his Jain disciples, left Magadha and came down as far as Ujjain. At this time an incident occurred in Magadha. Those of the Jains who stayed in Magadha were one day passing through the town. The queen of Chandragupta saw them from the balcony of her palace and was much disgusted to see them absolutely naked. She therefore ordered them to cover their bodies or quit the town and the naked Jains had to wear a white cloth. Thus, those who remained in Magadha and were compelled to wear a cloth were called Shwetambar, while those, who were outside Magadha and were not under the compulsion of wearing a cloth, still remained naked and were called Digambars. Another incident which resulted in the separation of Jains into two divisions occurred at the same time. During the absence of Bhadrababu, the Jains at Magadha settled their scriptures consisting of twelve 'Angas'. But Bhadrabahu and his disciples did not accept the new scripture. They adhered to their old dogmas and old scriptures. This division of Jain Church, according to Mr. Rameshchandra Dutt, began about 300 B. C., but the final separation took place about 79 or 82 A. D. Now the Shwetambars and

Ujjain. The first batch of Jains which came with Bhadrabahu from Magadha during the rule of the Maurya dynasty were Digambars. Thus there are both Digambar and Shwetambar Jains at Ujjain.

In conclusion, Ujjain has seen many changes in the religious history of India and has been the centre of many religious activities. It witnessed the old sacrificial religion of Shraut Sutras, the Ahimsa of Buddha and the asceticism of Jain. It next saw the rise of Shiva worship in his 'Linga' form and the sect of Kapalikas with their horrid practices. It also saw Buddhism and Jainism relapsed into rampant idolatry and lastly Pauranic Hinduism re-established in its present lifeless form.

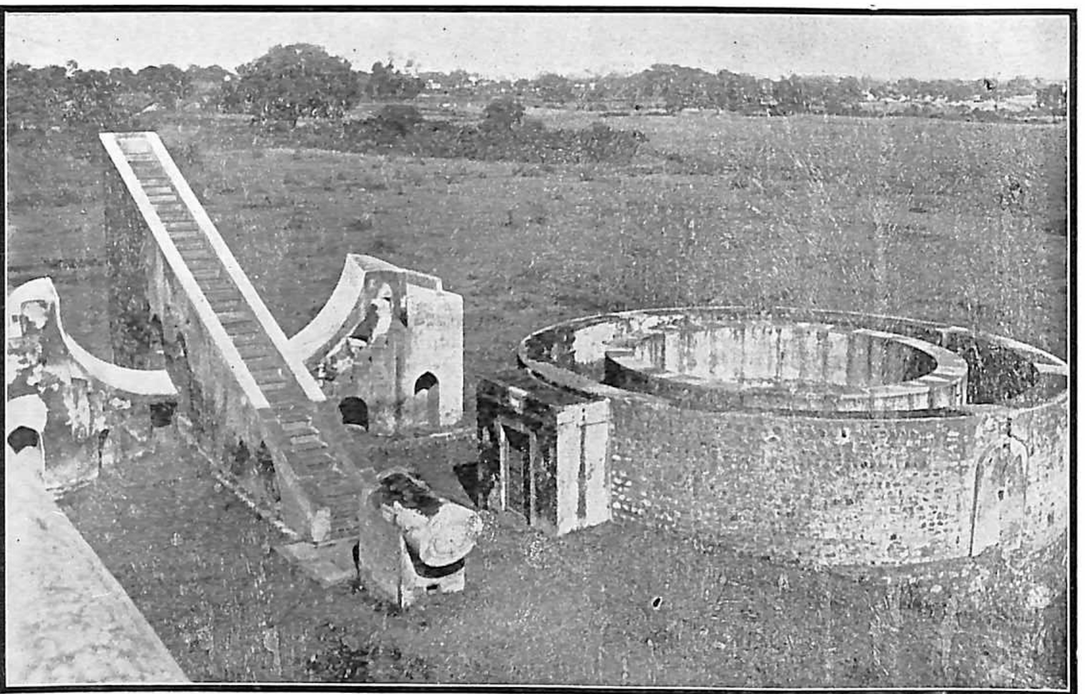
Digambars differ in their dogmas only. They now wear cloth and that too of any colour. At Ujjain, those who came from Magadha led by Bhadrabahu were Digambars and those who came from Gujarat were Shwetambars.

It is interesting to note, that every religion in course of time split into two or more divisions. Thus Christians are divided into Roman Catholics and Protestants, Mohammadans into Shiyas and Sunnis, Jains into Digambars and Shwetambars, Buddhists into Mahayanists and Hinayanists and Hindus into Dwaits and Adwaits so far as philosophy is concerned and into Shaivas and Vaishnawas so far as worship is concerned.

CHAPTER XI.

SEAT OF ASTRONOMICAL STUDY.

INDIAN astronomy treats Ujjain as on 0° longitude and this is due to the fact that Indian astronomy from the days of the old Siddhantas was zealously studied and formulated at Ujjain. Earlier Vedic astronomy as given in the Vedanga Jyotish does not divide the zodiac into twelve signs but it divides it into 27 Nakshatras or mansions of the moon. It is clear from this that the twelve signs of the zodiac were not known in the days of the Vedanga. This Vedic astronomy was based on the movements of the moon among the several starry constellations and as the moon completes her revolution in 28 days or a little less, the Vedic Rishis divided the zodiac into 27 or 28 mansions. But the Greeks following the Chaldeæans who were the first to study mathematically the movements of planets among the stars, divided the zodiac into twelve houses, corresponding to the sun's position among the stars during the twelve months in which the sun makes a complete circuit of the heavens.



Observatory.

The names of these houses as Aries, Taurus, etc., came into India with the Greeks and are exactly the same in Indian astronomy as Mesha, Vrishabha and so on. This fact, to our mind, proves that later Indian astronomy borrowed from the Greeks these twelve houses and methods of calculations based upon them and amalgamated the two divisions, namely, 27 Nakshatras and 12 Rashis. This amalgamation must have taken place at Ujjain under Ashoka in whose time, we read that there were astronomical schools at Ujjain. The trade from the west in pre-Christian days came through Alexandria to Ujjain which was a distributing centre and an emporium of commerce and naturally Greek astronomy along with Greek trade came to Ujjain.

The oldest Panch Siddhantas which formulated nearly accurate methods of calculations of the positionsof the sun, the moon and planets were, according to Shankar Balkrishna Dixit,* formulated about 200 B. C. in Ujjain. Dixit has shown that the old Pancha Siddhantas of which information is given to us by Varahmihira in his work Panchasiddhantika were Pulisha, Romaka, Vasistha, Saura and Pitamaha. We have no original works before us and Varahami-

*History of Indian Astronomy (in Marathi) by S. B. Dixit, Pp. 159, 212 and 310.

hira gives information about their methods of calculations as referred to his own time, namely, 427 Shaka year. But Dixit thinks that the oldest of them, namely, Pitamaha must have been formulated long before the beginning of the Shaka era because its system of calculation was the same as that of the Vedanga Jyotish. This tallies with our previous statement that astronomical studies began at Ujjain in Ashoka's time. Greek astronomy had no influence before Ashoka's time, for in the Mahabharat which was probably written about 300 B. C, there is no mention of Rashis.

Astronomy was zealously studied in Ujjain and accurate calculations were attempted. Dixit has shown that the Pitamaha Siddhanta, the oldest of the Pancha Siddhantas, gave inaccurate results and greater accuracy was shown by Romaka and Vasishtha. It thus seems that five Siddhantas gradually arose in Ujjain as greater accuracy was secured by and by. It appears that there was an observatory in Ujjain probably during the time of Vikramaditya as surmised by Col. Todd. Ujjain is a town in an open plain with equable climate and moderate rain. It means an open horizon and less fear of clouds. Then again being situated nearly on the tropic of cancer, it was the best place to observe the uttermost deflection of the sun towards

the north. It is well-known that the equator and the two tropical lines are the places, best situated to make astronomical observations and there being no other city on this line in India, Ujjain was thus best situated for establishing an observatory.

Hereafter, Ujjain was under the Shakas and astronomical studies were not only not checked but promoted, for the Shakas came with the civilization of the Yawans or Greeks. The Shakas ruled from 78 A. D. to 388 A. D. as shown elsewhere and astronomical studies prospering in their time, the later Siddhantas formulated methods of calculations based on the Shaka era. Indeed all modern astronomical calculations from the days of Varahmihira down to the days of Bhaskar and Ganesh, the authors of Siddhanta Shiromani and Graha Laghava, respectively, give methods of calculations referred to the Shaka era.

The modern Siddhantas which give greater accuracy in calculating the position of the sun, the moon, and the five planets at any future time were gradually evolved hereafter beginning with the Arya Siddhanta of Aryabhatta. Aryabhatta was a resident of Patna—the capital of Gupta empire. Ujjain which was then under the Gupta rule continued to be the centre of astronomical

studies. Aryabhatta appears to have written his Siddhanta, in 421 S. E. at Ujjain, where, as Dixit holds, it was known and used by Varahmihira.

Varahmihira comes hereafter, *i. e.*, from about 427 S. E. (505 A. D.), the year mentioned in his Pancha Siddhantika. He was a resident of Ujjain. He did not formulate any new Siddhanta but gave the methods taught in the old five Siddhantas which were then current in Ujjain. He also wrote two works—Brihatsanhita and Laghu Jatak—on astrology which was also developing along with astronomy. He used many Greek words in the original.

Although the Indians borrowed the essentials from Greeks at Alexandria, they used their own genius in developing the science and repaid the debt of the west manifold, for the Arabs after their conquest of Sindha, in the beginning of eighth century A. D., took the Siddhantas of Aryabhatta and others to Bagdad and from thence they went to Cardove, the Arab capital in Spain. From there they went to the Universities in Italy, France, Germany and England. The western astronomers have, no doubt, developed the science still further and thrown the Indian Siddhantas to the back-ground. But they cannot but acknowledge their debt to the works of Aryabhatta and other Indian astronomers.

Astronomical studies continued and new Siddhantas giving still more accurate results in astronomical calculations arose. The most noted of them is Surya Siddhanta which, as shown by Dixit, is quite different from the old Saura Siddhanta of the Pancha Siddhantika. Indian astronomers look upon the Surya Siddhanta as revealed and this idea gaining strength by and by naturally stopped further development in astronomical studies. Where and when this Siddhanta was written we do not know; but it is probable that Surya Siddhanta was proclaimed at Ujjain. In this very town astrology and astronomy were studied before the advent of or in the beginning of Christian era. As Benares is the place where every new Indian philosophy was preached so Ujjain seems to be the Greenwich of India and the place where every new Siddhanta was promulgated.

Ujjain continued to be the seat of astronomical learning down to the days of Bhoja Parmar to whom is attributed the astronomical work named Rajamriganka, though some surmise that this work was written by a court astronomer named Vidyapati who was the sixth ancestor of Bhaskaracharya, the well-known author of Siddhanta Shiromani.

During Mohammadan times we do not know how astronomical studies fared at Ujjain. But we know

that Jaisinha, the Moghul viceroy at Ujjain, in the beginning of eighteenth century built an astronomical observatory at Ujjain. Jaisinha was an ardent student of astronomy. He set up two more observatories, one at Delhi and another at Jaipur. All these except that at Jaipur remained unused, but it is to the credit of the late His Highness Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia that he saw the utility of repairing and improving the stone implements built by Jaisinha and it is notable that the Government of Gwalior has opened an establishment at Ujjain for taking actual astronomical observations and thus the fame of Ujjain as a seat of astronomical learning continues down to the present day.

CHAPTER XII.

THEATRE OF SANSKRIT DRAMAS.

WE know very little about the theatre of Sanskrit dramas. But generally those places play an important part in dramas, where dramatic scenes have been actually performed. Besides Ujjain, as a city of the Mahakal, is generally known to have been the place where Mahakal fair was periodically held when learned men from far and near assembled, where poets used to sing their poems and dramatists used to perform their dramas. The town is supposed by many scholars to have been the scene of Malati Madhava, the well-known drama of Bhavabhuti, while it was actually the scene of Mritshakatika of Shudraka. This play is a development of Daridra Charudatta of Bhasa who seems to be quite well conversant with Ujjain and he makes mention of Ujjain in his drama. We therefore propose to dwell in this chapter upon Mritshakatika and Malavikagnimitra, which refer to Ujjain.

The Mritshakatika, literally the clay-cart, also called the toy-cart, is a drama of considerable antiquity. The plot of the drama is based on the episode of Charudatta and Vasantasena which is supposed to have occurred during the rule of Palaka towards the close of fifth century B. C. The authorship of the work is attributed to Shudraka whom Col. Wilfore identifies with the founder of the Andhra dynasty of Magadha succeeding the throne by deposing his master, the last of the Kanva race. Dr. H. H. Wilson gives 190 or 192 A. D. as the date of this first Andhra king, and Rameshchandra Dutta gives the date of Shudraka or Sipraka as 26 or 27 B. C. and thus the period of the compilation of this drama comes between the close of the first century B. C. and the beginning of the third century A. D.*

The drama depicts the state of the society of Ujjain of the time when it was written. The dramatis personæ belong to Ujjain and the scene is also laid in Ujjain.

The hero of the drama, Charudatta, is a married Brahmin who has an affectionate wife and

*The tradition contained in the Awanti-Sundari Katha of Dandin makes Shudraka contemporary of Andhra king Swati who lived some time in the 1st century B. C. or 1st century A. D.

a little son. He is a model of goodness. It is said of him that he beautified the city of Ujjain with gardens and temples, wells and fountains. He carries his virtue of benevolence to a vicious excess and is thus reduced to poverty. Vasantasena, the heroine, is the famous and wealthy prostitute of the town and is considered as a society woman. In ancient Sanskrit literature we read of public women mixing freely with high class gentlemen. The subject of the drama is chiefly social and domestic. The city was then sufficiently advanced in trade and industry and the people were rich enough to be luxurious. At that time gambling was a fashion as it is even now in a veiled form and prostitutes were not looked down upon.

One day, Vasantasena comes down the street pursued by the dissolute brother-in-law of the king and enters the house of Charudatta. She has seen him before and honoured him with her affection in consequence of his good reputation. Charudatta welcomes her and admires her. When she departs, she begs permission to leave her jewels in a casket in his house, saying that it is for the jewels that she is pursued, but in reality that is only a pretext for further interview.

The next scene opens with a robber, who contrives to abstract the casket from Charudatta's

house and presents it to a maid-servant of Vasantasena with whom the thief is in love. The girl recognises it as belonging to her mistress and persuades her lover to restore it to Vasantasena and thus escape the risk of being treated as a thief.

When Charudatta knows of the theft, he feels that a foul blight will for ever rest upon his fame. But his wife gives him a string of jewels and induces him to send it to Vasantasena and to ask her to accept it instead of the stolen ornaments. Charudatta accordingly sends the string to Vasantasena with a message that the ornaments were lost at play and this string of jewels is offered in their place. Vasantasena is already in the know and she accepts the offer with a smile. Vasantasena in her next visit chides Charudatta for being a gambler and at the same time tells him the truth. During this interview, they confess mutual love.

The next act introduces Vasantasena to Charudatta's wife when she returns the string of jewels to her to whom it, of right, belongs. Presently Charudatta's son comes in playing with a little clay-cart which gives the drama its name, and Vasantasena, learning that the boy grieves because

the neighbour's child has a toy-cart of gold, whilst his is made of clay, tells him that he shall have one of gold, and does not make the promise in vain.

Charudatta next goes to the garden leaving a word that Vasantasena should follow him there. On her way to the garden, the dissolute relative of the king takes hold of her and strangles her and leaves her for dead beneath a heap of dry leaves. A Buddhist mendicant passes by. He recognises her and takes her safe to a neighbouring convent. The royal relative contrives to make it appear that Charudatta robbed Vasantasena of her jewels and then murdered her. The court of justice gives Charudatta the punishment of death; but Vasantasena appears on the scene and discloses the whole affair and thus saves her beloved from the scaffold.

Charudatta's wife embraces Vasantasena and welcomes her as her 'happy sister' and a veil is thrown over her to mark that she is no longer a public woman. A *liaison* between a pious Brahmin and a prostitute of a Shudra class was not liable to objection during those bygone days. In these days, it is certainly a novel.

The revolution in the government of Ujjain forms an under-plot. Palak's disregard for public

welfare offends the people and they bring a change in the government. Aryak, the founder of Abhir dynasty, having killed Palak, the tyrant king of Ujjain, takes possession of the town.

The other drama, which is less directly connected with Ujjain is Malavikagnimitra. The hero of the drama is Agnimitra, viceroy of Ujjain. The time is the rule of Pushyamitra which lasted from 184 to 148 B. C. The scene is laid at Bhilsa as Agnimitra during his viceroyalty of Malwa, used to live there. The author of the drama is the well-known poet Kalidasa who flourished in the first century B. C. and the drama therefore is of no recent date. Dr. Wilson suspects that Malavikagnimitra is not the work of Kalidasa, the author of Shakuntala and Vikramorvashi, as there is neither the same melody in the style nor fancy in the thought. But this is no conclusive evidence to decline the authorship of Malavikagnimitra to Kalidasa. Kalidasa wrote many dramas and epic poems and all are not likely to be of equal merit. The preceding must necessarily be inferior to the succeeding work. Malavikagnimitra might be his first attempt at drama.

The play tells us that Dharini, the senior wife of Agnimitra, has in her attendance Malavika,

a charming and beautiful girl. She studies, singing and dancing under a teacher named Ganadasa. Her picture is painted and kept in a picture gallery but the original—Malavika herself—is scrupulously kept away from Agnimitra's knowledge. The sight of the picture inspires the prince with an ardent desire to see the original and he employs his confident Gautama to procure him the sight of Malavika.

To effect this, Gautama instigates a quarrel between Ganadasa and another musical teacher Hardutta, regarding their respective pre-eminence. They appeal to the prince and he refers the dispute to Dharini. Both the teachers have to show the performance of their pupils and as already arranged by Agnimitra, Ganadasa brings forward Malavika, on whom he stakes his credit. She shows the audience, among whom Agnimitra is present, her skill in dancing and singing. Dharini suspects the plot but Agnimitra gains his object.

The scene then changes into a garden, where Agnimitra and Malavika meet. But while the prince is addressing Malavika, he is interrupted by Irawati, his junior wife. She commands Malavika's retreat and informs Dharini of what is going on. Malavika is locked up in a store room.

Agnimitra requests Gautama to effect the liberation of Malavika and he contrives a scheme. When the prince is engaged in conversation with Dharini, Gautama sends a message that he has been bitten by a snake and the only hope of saving his life lies in the application of a snake-stone to the bite. Dharini has one in her finger ring and she instantly sends the ring to Gautama. Gautama's object is gained. The jailor has instructions to liberate Malavika only on being shown the seal ring of the princess. Gautama shows the ring to the jailor and effects Malavika's release.

Malavika is then conveyed to a pavilion, where Agnimitra presents himself, but they have scarcely enough time to exchange love, before they are again disturbed by Irawati.

The next act collects the prince, the princess, Malavika and some attendants in the garden, when some presents arrive from the submissive Raja of Vidarbha. Amongst the gifts, are two female slaves, who recognise in Malavika, the sister of Madhavasena, a friend of Agnimitra. It appears that when Madhavasena was formerly seized by his kinsmen, his sister, with the help of his minister, contrived to make her escape. She sought

the protection of Dharini and the young princess turns out to be heroic Malavika.

In the meantime Pushyamitra, father of Agnimitra, celebrates Ashwamedha and appoints his grandson Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra, to guard the sacrificial horse. He protects the horse from the Yawans and defeats them on the bank of the Indus. Dharini overjoyed by the news of her son's success distributes rich presents to all her train and with concurrence of Irawati presents Malavika to Agnimitra.

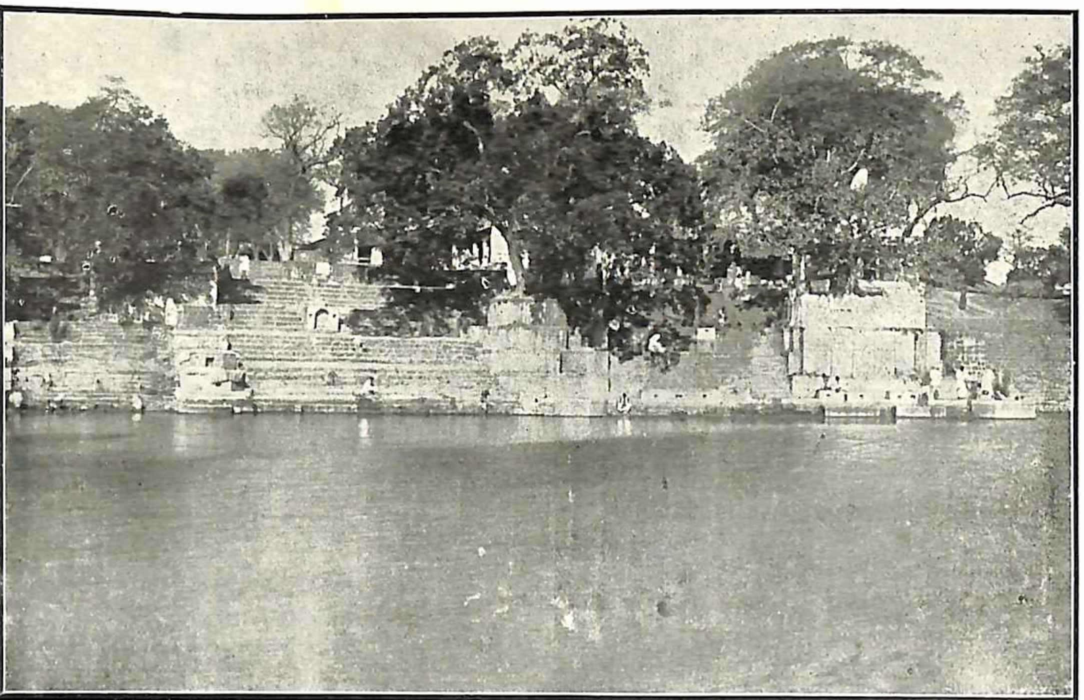
Many scholars maintain that the scene of Malati Madhava of Bhavabhuti is also laid in Ujjain, and they identify Padmawati in Malati Madhava with Ujjain. Padmawati is, no doubt, one of the names of Ujjain. But Bhavabhuti's description of the geographical surroundings of the city does not fit well with Ujjain. From the description given by Bhavabhuti the information we gather about the geographical position of Padmawati is that the city stands on the confluence of two rivers Sindhu and Para, there is a waterfall in the river, Sindhu is in the vicinity of the town, that the confluence of Sindhu and Madhumati is not far away from the town and on this confluence is a temple of Shiva known by the name of Suvarnabindu and

that the river Lawana flows close by the town.* We do not find the traces of these rivers even in the neighbourhood of Ujjain, nor is there a waterfall in its vicinity. We therefore cannot identify the Padmawati of Bhavabhuti's play with Ujjain. The scene of the drama of Malati Madhava cannot therefore be laid in Ujjain.

The whole of this chapter, we know, has very little connection directly with Ujjain, but the place being the scene of some dramas and not being the scene of Malati Madhava, as many scholars suppose, we have taken the indulgence of writing it. Besides the perusal of the plots of the dramas will give the readers an insight into the social condition of the people of the time.

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*Dr. Wilson identifies the four rivers—Sindhu, Para, Lawana and Madhumati with Sindh, Parwati, Nun and Mahuwar—and Mr. Roy Chaudhari in his Political History of Ancient India (page 336) identifies Padmawati with Pawaya, now a village some forty miles from Gwalior and 12 miles from Dabra railway station. The position of the village agrees well with the description of the town Padmawati given by Bhavabhuti in Malati Madhava. It was about the time of Bhavabhuti, one of the three capitals of the Nagas—the other two being Kuntipur—modern Kotwal—and Mathura. Mr. M. B. Garde of Gwalior, Archæological Department, has endorsed this identification in his 'Site of Padmawati'.



Siddha Wata.

CHAPTER XIII.

SHRINES AND SACRED SPOTS.

UJJAIN, like Benares, may well be styled the city of temples. Skanda-Purana makes a mention of eighty-four principal Shiva-temples, besides the well-known temple of Mahakala, where public worship is offered daily and periodically. But there is a large number of shrines, dedicated to Shiva, Durga and other deities, built from time to time, by individuals, who were very rich and had at their disposal facilities to ensure perpetual service and worship. To-day the total number of temples is in the neighbourhood of two thousand. Besides, there are private shrines and we also find here and there Shiva-Lingas set in the Shalunkas, on open platforms, and they are innumerable.

The principal temple, known as the temple of

(1) MAHAKALA

or Kalapriyanatha is dedicated to God Shiva. There are twelve foremost and famous temples of God Shiva at different places in India and the Mahakala temple is one of them. The time when

the original temple was built cannot be definitely ascertained. The orthodox Hindus believe that the existence of the Shiva-Linga, marks the beginning of the world. But history cannot endorse this belief. The idea of constructing temples as places of public worship originated in the popular mind along with the spread of Jainism and Buddhism. For, the old Aryan religion knew no temples in the sense in which we use them now. The mention of Mahakala temple is made in Mahabharata and Skanda-Purana; and Alberuni and Ferista give lucid descriptions of this august building in the account of their travels. But this does not go to contradict our assertion, for, the date of the compilation of the oldest of these does not go beyond the period which we assign for the construction of temples.

According to Jain literature, the original temple of Mahakala was built for a Jain idol by one Avanti Sukumar, a wealthy Jain merchant of Ujjain, in memory of his father and on the very sight where the body of his father was cremated. But when the building was complete, a Shiva-Linga was placed there by Hindus by a stratagem.

The ancient histories of India give credit to Raja Vikramaditya for the construction of the original temple, but its mention in Mahabharata,

Skanda-Purana and Jain literature does not allow us to assign the construction of the temple to a period comparatively so modern.

In the eleventh century, the temple was repaired by Raja Bhoj of Parmar dynasty and he made many additions and extensions to it.

In 1235 Sultan Altamash of the Slave dynasty made an attack on Ujjain. He destroyed the temple and levelled it to the ground. The idol of Shiva was thrown in the tank near at hand and all the jewellery and valuables belonging to the temple were taken to Delhi. At Sultan's order a mosque was built on the ruins of the temple.

For more than five centuries there was no Mahakala temple at Ujjain and the Shiva-Linga or the image of God Shiva was lying hidden under the waters of the tank called Koti-Tirtha. In 1732, Ujjain came under Scindia, and during the reign of Ranoji, his minister Ramchandra Baba Sukhatankar broke down the mosque, erected by Altamash, and built the present temple on the same site some time between 1734 and 1745. The Shiva-Linga which was lying in the Koti-Tirtha for the last five centuries was taken out and was re-instated in the newly built shrine. The temple stands south-west of the town in the centre of a spacious courtyard.

In strange incongruity with the Hindu structure of the temple, the courtyard is surrounded in the south-east and north by a building resembling a Caravan-Sarai. These are probably the remnants of the out-houses of the old mosque. In the west is situated the Koti-Tirtha tank.

The tradition runs that Ramchandra Baba had no son. His wife having insisted him to adopt one, he thought that adopted sons have not the slightest sympathy for the parents who adopt them. Their sole aim is to enjoy the property to which they become heirs by virtue of adoption. The better way of utilising the savings and perpetuating the name of the family would be by doing some meritorious act of permanent nature. He was a man of religious trend of mind and he conceived the happy idea of re-building the Mahakala temple. He also repaired 64 of the ruined temples collectively known as Chausasti Yoginis. He thus left his name in the memory of posterity for many a generation to come.

The principal place in the shrine is a subterranean chamber which is reached by a subterranean passage, and just overhead is another chamber. In the lower chamber, the Shiva-Linga of Mahakala is placed, and in the upper chamber there is a Shiva-Linga of Omkareshwar. In front of the courtyard.

attached to and on a level with the upper chamber, there is a porch. The pillars of the porch are evidently of ancient date. It is probable that the material of the old temple was used in building the mosque and when the mosque was pulled down, the same material was used in the construction of the temple. The base of the main temple is 35 × 35 feet and its height is 85 feet. The shrine of Mahakala represents the most popular place of worship in Ujjain. Hundreds of people daily visit the temple and on special occasions, the crowd is so dense that sometimes it is difficult to find even an inch of space inside the temple and even inside the courtyard. Thanks to the generous gift of the Gwalior Government and the handsome donations of neighbouring princes, the feasts and festivities in connection with the temple are appropriately celebrated.

The principal festivities are on the days of the Mahashivaratri and Shravani Somwara. On the former occasion celebrations are held from the 6th to the 14th of the dark-half of the month of Magha which period usually comes by the end of February or in the beginning of March. In these days Bhajana and Keertana is a daily evening programme. The Mahapuja of the Shiva-Linga done in the midnight of Shivaratri is simply grand and worth seeing. At that time the crowd in the temple is overwhelming.

On the latter occasion, *i. e.*, on every Monday in the month of Shravana according to solar calculation, the procession of the idol is taken throughout the city with great pomp.

Another temple situated in Jogipura is that of

(2) HARSIDDHI.

It is on the side of Rudra-Sagara, quite in front of Mahakala temple with a tank between. It is neither too small nor too great. It is strongly built and the architecture is of old style. It is surrounded with a stone wall with gates on four sides leaving a spacious compound inside. In front of the temple, there are two Gopuras. On the niche in the temple a stone slab is fixed on which Shree-Yantra is engraved. This Yantra is what we call Harsiddhi. On the west side of this stone slab is an image of a Goddess—Annapoorna, which is popularly known as Harsiddhi. But the fact is as stated below. This Goddess is the tutelar divinity of Rajput Thakurs in general and that of Parmar family in particular. A tradition is current, that Vikramaditya performed penance in this temple for many years and it was through the favour of Harsiddhi, that Vikramaditya obtained valour and gained the victory in all his undertakings.

The date when the temple was originally built cannot be ascertained; but the structure of the present temple resembles that of those built in the fourteenth century by Hemadri,* minister of Ramadeva of Devgiri.

Next we go to the river

(3) SIPRA AND ITS GHATS.

The river has its origin in the valley of a hillock, a few miles from Indore. It flows from south to north and meets Chambal near Sipawar, a village in the Jaora State. Its total length is 120 miles and on its east bank is situated the town of Ujjain.

In Sanskrit literature, the river is named Sipra as well as Shipra, and people locally call it Kshipra. The difference in pronunciation is simply provincial and the inscriptions of Ashoka are a valuable help to us in explaining it. These edicts were written in the language spoken and understood by the people in each separate portion of Ashoka's extensive empire. The spoken language about the third cen-

*Hemadri was the minister of Ramdeva of Devgiri, a kingdom in the northern Deccan. He lived from 1250 to 1300 A. D. He seems to have been a zealous temple-builder and doubtlessly many of the temples known as Hemad Panti scattered over Khandesh and the Hyderabad territory owe their origin to him. Many others going by the same name derived it nearly from similarity of style and age (Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, page 366).

tury B. C. was Pali and according to province, from Indus to Ganges it was Punjabi; in Bengal and other eastern countries it was Magadhi, and in Malwa and in country downward it was Ujjeni. The variation lies only in the use of r, l, s, and sh. While the Punjabi words retain r and s, the Magadhi substitutes l and sh for them; while Ujjeni retains both r and l as well as s and sh. Thus Raja in Punjabi is Laja in Magadhi, and Asoka in Punjabi is Ashoka in Magadhi—Ujjeni retains both Raja as well as Laja and Asoka as well as Ashoka. This accounts for both the names of the river—Sipra and Shipra.

Abul Fazal, in his Ain-i-Akbari* says that the river at times flows in waves of milk. He further states 'in the 43rd year of the Ilahi era, in the Ilahi month of Farardin, four 'Gharries' of the night having elapsed, this flow occurred and all the collections of people, Hindus and Muslims alike, partook of it.' Mr. Thomas† Penant interprets the phenomenon in his own way. In his opinion, a stratum of white clay was somewhere near the bank of the river, and when the current occasionally flows through it, it takes a tinge as white as milk. Mr.

*Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, page 196.

† Views of Hindusthan by Thomas Penant, Vol. I, page 77.

Gladwin suggests a sudden impregnation of the river with chalk. Both the interpretations are in no way satisfactory. Passing of the current through white clay or its impregnation with chalk may give the flow a tinge of milk, but it cannot give the taste of milk and the people cannot accept chalky water for milk. If what Abul Fazal says, is a fact, we may take it as a miracle.

Starting on our journey towards the north by the river side, we begin with a small but picturesque Narsinha Ghat, on the east bank of the river. It was built by Ramchandra Baba Sukhatankar, the minister of Ranoji Scindia, some time between 1734 and 1745. The next is Sangameshwar and the third is Pishacha-Vimochan or Pishacha-Mukteshwar Ghat. On this Ghat, there is a temple of Shiva which goes by the name of Pishacha-Mukteshwar. It was built by Munjadeva, uncle of Raja Bhoja, during his rule at Ujjain between 973 and 997. The fourth is Ram Ghat. We owe the structure of this Ghat to Ramchandra Malhar, the Dewan of Ranoji Scindia, and it must have been probably built during his ministership, along with Narsinha Ghat. On this Ghat Maharani Bayaja Bai, queen of Daulat Rao Scindia, built a temple of Gopal Krishna. The temple is of black stone and by the side of the image of Gopal Krishna, is placed the

marble statue of Bayaja Bai. They call it the Chhatri of Bayaja Bai, but this illustrious lady expired at Gwalior in 1863.

The temple is probably so called because of her charitable and religious bent of mind. Opposite Ram Ghat, on the other side of the river, is Dutta-Akhara. It is a hermitage for the Gosawi class of hermits. Next to Ram Ghat is Chhatri Ghat. It connects the stream of the river with the Chhatri of Ranoji Scindia. Both the Ghat and Chhatri were built, soon after Ranoji's death, probably between 1745 and 1754 by Jayappa, son of Ranoji. The Chhatri at Ujjain appears only to be a second memorial of Ranoji as his death occurred at Shujalpur and a Chhatri has been built there on the spot where he was cremated. Next to Chhatri is Maulana Ghat. Overlooking the Ghat, is a tomb of Maulana Mungis-ud-din. Mohammadans of Ujjain believe him to be the disciple of Khwaja Mayuddin Chisti of Ajmere, but Abul Fazal* states that he was the disciple of Awalia Nizam-ud-din of Delhi. Awalia Nizam-ud-din lived between 1235 and 1325 while Khwaja Mayuddin was born in 1142 and died in 1236. On the authority of Ain-i-Akbari we might safely place Maulana Mungis-ud-din in the latter half of

*Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. III, page 365.

13th or early in the 14th century. The construction of the Maulana Ghat must have therefore taken place along with the tomb of Maulana, probably in the 14th century. The next is Udasi Ghat with an Akhara of Udasis, just in its neighbourhood. The next two are Gandharva Ghat and Sonar Ghat. Leaving aside, Narsinha Ghat, which is detached from others, there are only eight Ghats—four in continuity on one side and four in continuity on the other side, leaving a gap between. There are besides Dashashwamedha Ghat, Ganga Ghat and Mangaleshwar Ghat; but each is separated and at a great distance from the other. We owe the construction of Ganga Ghat to one Rukmini Bai Jog of Indore. The Mangaleshwar Ghat is named after the temple of Mangaleshwar, otherwise called Angarakeshwar. Its mention is made in Skanda-Purana which goes to prove that the temple must have been originally built before the 10th century A. D. All the Ghats are studded with temples, big and small, and they present a beautiful appearance, from the other side of the river, specially on the occasions of Kartiki and Vaishakhi Paurnima, when thousands of people congregate here to have a bath in the sacred waters. The Ghats then are covered over with sturdy villagers and delicate Gujaratees and their chequerred dresses present a remarkably attractive sight. The

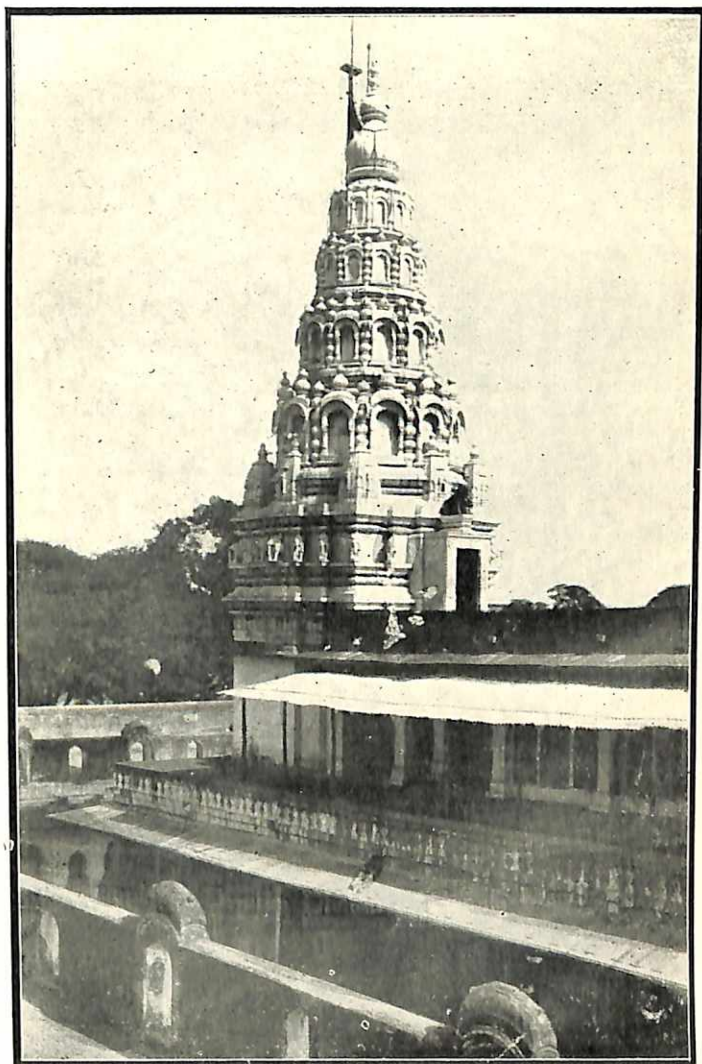
river side is also a centre of great gaiety once a year on the occasion of Dashahara which happens in the bright half of Jyeshtha (usually in June) when the Ghats and temples are decorated and illuminated and people revel there with music and singing.

The next important place of worship is the temple of Shri Gopal Krishna popularly known as

(4) GOPAL MANDIR.

It is in the heart of the town. It is also called the temple of Dwarkadheesha. Gopal Krishna is the tutelary divinity of the Scindia family and we owe the construction of this temple to the late Maharani Bayaja Bai during her stay at Ujjain, between 1848 and 1856. The site selected for the shrine is itself most appropriate. It tends to magnify the grandeur of the temple and the beauty of the town as well. It is a place where Patni Bazar and Sabzimandi meet and the road from Sarafa forms the perpendicular.

The niche of the temple and the tower are of white marble, while the porch and the galleries are built of black stone. The outer doors of the niche are of white and green stones said to have been imported from Gazni and set in a silver frame. The image of Gopal Krishna is of black stone with Radha and Shankar made of white marble at left



Temple of Dwarka Dheesh or Gopala Mandir.

and right in same line. A statue of Bayaja Bai is placed on the right side and that of Garud on the left. The management of the temple is right royal suiting the royal divinity.

From Gopal Mandir, about a couple of miles, is a place known as

(5) ANKA-PATA.

There is a receptacle of water, called Vishnu-sagara. It is one of the seven sacred places of bath at Ujjain. Shri Krishna, while studying with Sandipani in the hermitage, is said to have dug and constructed this receptacle in the neighbourhood of the Ashram and the area around the receptacle came to be called after it. The word Anka-pata is a locative Tatpurush compound. It means initiation or alighting upon the study of numbers. It is a place where Shri Krishna was initiated to study as pupil of Sandipani and hence the name of the place. The word is still used in Bengal when a boy is first put to school. It being a place of Shri Krishna's ramble in his boyhood, the people of Vallabha Sampradaya much respect it. The place might have been once charming but now it is desolate and has no attraction about it.

About six miles from Ujjain, east of Bhairogarh, on the bank of the river Sipra, is an old Banian tree

called in Sanskrit 'Vata'. Among trees, Hindus, as a rule, have regard for Vata, Pimpala, and Audumbar. They are looked upon as holy trees and this 'Vata' tree of Ujjain, like a 'Vata' tree in the fort of Allahabad has a special significance. It is considered the holiest and a Ghat below this Banian tree is called

(6) THE SIDDHAVATA GHAT.

Apart from its sanctity, the place is worth a visit as it abounds in beautiful natural scenery.

Not far from Siddhavata, on the other side of the fort and on the bank of Sipra, is situated the temple of

(7) KALA-BHAIRAVA.

It was built in ancient time by a Raja, Bhadrasen. The shrine belongs to the Kapalika sect of Shiva worshippers. It is now in a ruined condition.

North of Ujjain, on a desolate area which goes by the name of 'Garh' is the temple of

(8) MAHAKALI.

It is said to have been built by Emperor Harsha in 600 A.D. It was now and then repaired and so the structure represents a strange combination of early Hindu and recent Mahomedan architecture.

The image of the goddess in the shrine presents a grave and terrific sight and is said to have been in existence since antiquity. Kalidasa, the gifted son of the Muses, is said to have performed penance here and tradition prevails that it was through the propitiation of Mahakali that Kalidasa obtained the gift of poetry. How far the tradition is true, we cannot say. The name of the poet however indicates that he was a devotee of Kali.

CHAPTER XIV.

SINHASTHA.

THE Sinhastha, as its name implies, occurs at Ujjain every twelfth year, when Jupiter enters the sign of Leo. The principal bathing day is the fifteenth of the bright half of Vaishakha, which usually falls some time during May.

The origin of this fair is in the idea of holding a religious congress once every year at one of the twelve holy places. Which these twelve holy places were in the days by-gone, we cannot definitely say. As a remnant of the old custom, we now find that the fair is held every twelfth year at Hardwar, on the bank of the Ganges, at Allahabad at the confluence of Ganges and the Jamna, at Nasik, on the bank of the Godawari, at some suitable place on the bank of the Krishna and at Ujjain on the bank of the Sipra. But the fair at Ujjain and Nasik occurs in the same year, though in different months. We happened to read a stanza in an old writing the authorship of which is unknown, according to which it was a practice in days of yore to hold this fair in

Nasik when Jupiter enters the sign of Leo and at Ujjain when Jupiter enters the sign of Scorpio, which means after an interval of three years. What led to abolish the old practice, and how and when the present practice of holding the fair with Jupiter in Leo came in vogue is a mystery which we are unable to solve. It is, however, certain that these fairs originally started not earlier than the time when the system of twelve astronomical signs was introduced into India, most probably in the third century B. C., further than which the existence of Sinhastha fair cannot go.

But the idea of such a religious congress is older still. This idea had originated in Vedic period. The learned of those days used to assemble together at some place from time to time and used to discuss theological, philosophical and religious subjects for months together. Such assemblies were then called Brahma Sattra (a session of lectures on supreme spirit), or Saraswati Sattra (a session of learned lectures), and the mention of these Sattras is made in Brihadaranyaka and Aswalayana Shrauta Sutra and in many other Vedic compilations of that period. In Buddhist period, the Mahasabhas or conferences of learned followers of Buddhism were held on the same line and on the basis of Brahma Sattra or Saraswati Sattra. With

the change of time, either these Sattras have been developed into periodical fairs or these fairs might have been started on the ideal of old Sattras.

The saints and Sadhus, who assemble together, from all parts of India, during the Sinhastha fair at Ujjain, belong to either of the five traditional religious doctrines. They are (1) Bairagis, (2) Gosawis, (3) Udasis, (4) Nath Sampradayis, and (5) Aghoris. They are again sub-divided into subordinate orders and sub-orders. Bairagis attend the fair in majority. Gosawis and Udasis come next in number while Nath Panthis and Aghoris, who come here, are very few and far between. They come and encamp outside the town at different places specially allotted to them.

Bairagis are devotional. In their community, we find the worship of idols and the oration of religious stories accompanied with singing and music. Gosawis and specially Nirmal Paramhansas among them are, as a rule, very learned and we find many Yogis and theologists and philosophers among them. Udasis devote themselves to religious austerities Nath Panthis are, generally Hatha Yogis, practising abstract meditation with the help of Asanas and Pranayamas and other such rigid methods. Aghoris are an order of unclean mendicants, who indulge in revolting practices.

The fair lasts for about a month, the last day being the fifteenth of the bright half of the Vaishakha. On this day all these saints and Sadhus go in procession to Rama Ghat on the bank of the river Sipra and worship their flags there. The total number of persons, who assemble in the fair including saints, Sadhus and pilgrims, comes in the neighbourhood of five lakhs.

The management of the fair is under the supervision of a Mela Officer and every precaution is taken to give comforts and facilities to all assembled.

The primeval aim and object however of holding such periodical fair have now fallen into decadence. There are, no doubt, some among those who come to Ujjain during Sinhastha time, who are very learned, and a few out of them, are able philosophers and Yogis of high order. They discuss philosophical and metaphysical subjects, but they seldom meet together on a public platform. A pilgrim or a traveller has no charm for the fair and a round in the Mela becomes a tedious routine.

This ancient institution of holding a periodical fair renders easy the exchange of ideas among people from different parts of the country and thus paves the way for love, mutual good-will and

national harmony. Such fairs were often held at centres of pilgrimage, which were, no doubt, the seats of learning and the rendezvous of spiritual and intellectual giants. When holding a fair, this once useful practice should not be lost sight of, otherwise, it degenerates into a meaningless and ridiculous parade.

The present age is an age of economy and industry. Though the fair is a religious one, like all other fairs in India, it is now necessary to adjust it to the social and economic needs of the time. Lectures on religious, social and industrial topics, together with industrial and agricultural exhibitions and other functions of like nature will, no doubt, contribute to enhance the value and beauty of the fair. Thus a combined programme of intellectual and industrial activities will make the Mela both instructive and interesting.

CHAPTER XV.

PLACES WORTH VISIT.

THE grandeur of old Ujjain is now concealed in the womb of the earth, below the site of the old town which the efforts of archæologists only can bring to light. There are, however, some places of comparatively modern date. They are worth visit simply from the historical or architectural point of view. We first go to *Jaisinh Observatory.*

It is situated to the south-west of the city on the north bank of the river Sipra. It was built by Raja Jaisinh of Jaipur who lived at Ujjain as the Governor of Malwa under the Moghul Emperor Mohammad Shah some time about 1725 A. D.

Ujjain is mentioned in early Hindu astronomical works as situated on the prime meridian and it was once the centre of astronomical study in India. To Greeks and Romans, the town was known as Urain. They named it after Urainia, the Greek goddess of astronomy. In Ashoka's time, it was the seat of a University, where astronomy was taught as a special subject.

The latitude of the point where the observatory is situated is 23°-10′-.6″ north and the longitude is 75°-46′-3″ east of Greenwhich. Its height above the sea.level, is 1,679 feet. The magnetic declination is 0-49′ E. Local mean time is 26 minutes and 52 seconds behind the standard time.

The observatory consists of (1) Samrata Yantra, (2) Nadi Walaya Yautra, (3) Digansha Yantra, and (4) Dakshinottara Bhitti or Bhitti Yantra.

(1) The Samrata Yantra is 22 feet high and the edge of the Gnomon is 47½ feet from south to north and the radius of each quadrant is 9 feet and 1 inch. If lines be drawn at right angles to the quadrants at their lowermost points and perpendicular to the edges of the Gnomon wall, the points where they meet these edges mark the zeros of the declination scale carved on the top of the wall. The inclination of the staircase to the horizon is 23°-10′ which is the latitude of Ujjain. One is able to see the Dhruwa or polar star, in the direction of the staircase, when standing in front of the scale. On both the quadrants are marked, the hours and minutes to indicate time. From sunrise to noon the lines on the western quadrant and from noon to sunset, the lines on the eastern quadrant give the true local time, accurate to one-third of a

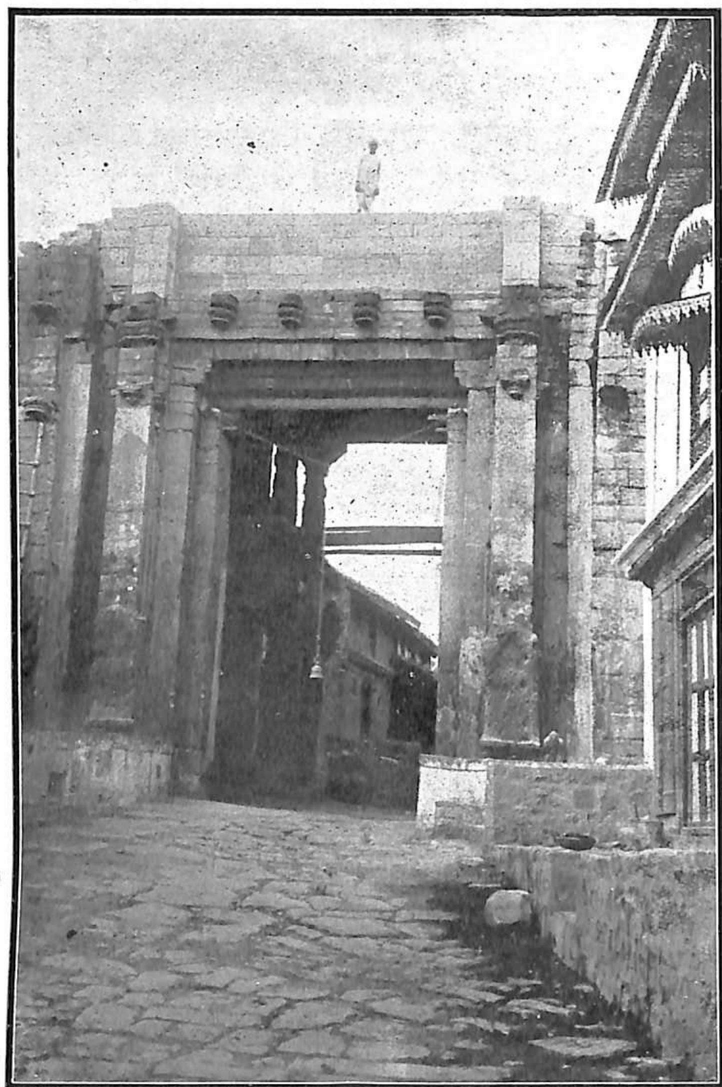
minute. The standard time is obtained by adding to the true time, the correction which is engraved on stones fixed in the niches of the quadrant walls.

(2) Nadi Walaya Yantra is a circular dial, constructed a few feet to the south of Samrata Yantra. It consists of a cylinder 7½ feet long and 3 feet and 7½ inches in diameter. Its axis is fixed in the plane of the meridian, the faces of the cylinder being cut parallel to the plane of the equator. In the centre of each face and at right angles to it, is an iron style, round which, is a circle graduated into hours and minutes. The iron peg, fixed on the northern face indicates the time when the sun is in the northern hemisphere; and the peg on the southern face, gives the time when the sun is in the southern hemisphere. This Yantra helps to ascertain, the days on which fall, the equinoctial days in the year. It also gives us a clue as to the sphere—northern or southern—in which a particular star or planet is situated.

(3) Digansha Yantra is situated quite close and to the east of Samrata Yantra. It consists of an outer circular wall 32 feet and 10 inches in diameter and 8 feet and 4 inches in height. Concentric with this is another circular wall 20 feet in diameter and of the same height as the outer wall. In the centre there is an iron rod which is 4

feet high. The inner circular wall is divided into four equal parts marking the cardinal points and degrees between them. By fixing a wire or a rope on the top of the pillar fixed in the centre and stretching it in the direction of a particular star or planet, we get the correct place of the star or planet, under observation.

(4) The Dakshinottara Bhitti or Bhitti Yantra is a meridian instrument. It consists of a wall lying in the plane of the meridian and constructed in the directions of north and south. It is 22 feet both in height and length and 7 feet in thickness. On the eastern surface of this wall, are double quadrants, the centres of which are at top corners of the wall. On the quadrants are marked the degrees with their sub-divisions, while in the centre of each quadrant, an iron peg is fixed. By fixing a string in the iron peg of the quadrants and stretching it in the direction of the shadow of the peg, just at noon, we come to know the zenith distance and the declination of the sun. If the experiment is made on 21st March or 23rd September, the exact distance in degrees and minutes of Ujjain from the equator can be ascertained; and if the experiment is made on 23rd December and 22nd June, the maximum declination of the sun from the equator can be ascertained.



Chowis Khambi Darwaja

The observatory was in its ruined condition. It probably remained neglected and unused since Jaisinh left Ujjain. But His late Highness Maharaja Madhav Rao, who was very keen in preserving the antiquities, got it thoroughly repaired under the supervision of an able astronomer and it is now equipped with a small establishment.

Next we go to

CHOWIS-KHAMBI DARWAJA.

It is evidently a gate-way. Tradition has it that it was the north gate of a massive stone wall which in ancient time, surrounded the compound of the temple of Mahakal. It is so called from the number of pillars which support its present roof. The pillars are of black stone beautifully carved and appear to be of very ancient date and if we rely on the tradition, the antiquity of the gate goes far back to the time when extensions and additions were made to the temple during the time of Raja Bhoja. Archæologists assign eleventh century A. D. as the approximate time of the construction of the gate and this opinion of the archæologists supports the tradition. It is possibly one of the outer gates of the courtyard of the mediæval Mahakal temple during the time of Raja Bhoja, who ruled in Ujjain early in the eleventh century A. D.

The third place worth visit is

BINA-NIVA-KI-MASJID.

This mosque is located in Anantpeth. In 1397 Dilawar Khan Ghori, during his governorship of Malwa, turned a Jain Vihar or temple into a mosque. Its name evidently has its origin in the fact that the mosque has been constructed on the site of an old Jain or Buddhist Vihar, utilising the foundation as well as the materials of the Vihar. The need of constructing new foundation having been obviated, the building was popularly called a mosque without foundation. The carved pillars and many other items of building materials clearly testify to their having originally belonged to a Jain temple. The part of the old Vihar still exists almost intact. Some of the engravings having been erased, while we still see the old engravings on some of the stones. The building therefore is a strange combination of a Jain temple and an Islami mosque.

Next we proceed to

BHARTRI HARI'S CAVE.

It is a cave, where Bhartrihari is said to have shut himself as a religious mendicant. Who this Bhartrihari was, is still a matter of dispute. Tradition assigns him the honour of being the elder brother of king Vikramaditya of Ujjain of the first century

B. C. But Prof. Max Muller on the authority of a Chinese traveller, It Sing, identifies him with Bhatti, who according to Max Muller was a contemporary of Siladitya II who lived in the seventh century A. D. He was the author of three Shatakas and Bhatti-Kavya.

The cave consists of a large square gallery supported on pillars of black carved stones with chambers, excavated on each side containing Jain figures and inscriptions curiously carved on the walls. Inside is a double-storeyed building. A low doorway made of clumsy stones leads through a subterranean passage to the central gallery and the adjoining chambers. Being closed and covered on all sides, the rays of the sun do not get admittance into it. A visitor therefore has to resort to a search light or a torch in order to inspect the inside of the cave.

From the structure and architecture of the building and from the Jain images carved therein, one upon the other on a square stone pillar inside the cave, it seems more probable, that the building might have been once a Jain or Buddhist Vihar instead of a cave of a Hindu Yogi; and as such it must have been built, some time in the third century B. C. during Ashoka's time, when the construction of Vihars was a fashion, throughout the

country. As the level of the surrounding ground gradually rose with the silt from river floods, the Vihar or temple might have been partially buried from outside and assumed the appearance of a dark underground cellar or cave. How Bhartrihari or any Hindu Yogi came to appropriate it or how the cave came to be called after Bhartrihari, history does not know.

In the first century B.C. Buddhism and Jainism were very flourishing and their Vihars were in good condition. No Hindu Yogi could then occupy it. It was in the 7th century A. D. that these religions began to decline and Yuan Chwong, a Chinese Buddhist traveller who visited Ujjain in 641 A. D., found many of the Vihars ruined and vacant. This Vihar or cave could not therefore be the residence of Bhartrihari, if he was the brother of Vikramaditya of the first century B. C.

The stream of the river, as it proceeds northward, grows deeper and deeper, until at a distance of seven miles from Ujjain, it divides itself into two branches which meet again at a short distance, forming a small island as it were. The water here is deep enough and it goes by the name of Kaliyadeh. Here on this island there was, in ancient times, a temple of Surya (sun). In front of the

temple there were two receptacles of water, called Surya Kunda and Brahma Kunda.

In the first decade of the 16th century, Sultan Nasir-ul-Din Khilji, the then governor of Malwa, levelled the temple to the ground and in its place built a pleasure house which goes by the name of

KALIYADEH MAHAL.

The structure of the building is of the Pathan style of architecture. In the bed of the river, which runs west of the Mahal, many more receptacles were added to Surya and Brahma Kundas, thus making it impossible for moderners to distinguish the two old from others. The water of the stream runs through all of them, keeping them always full and then falls from a height of about fifteen feet, thus creating a small and beautiful waterfall.

The main building consists of a central hall with galleries on all four sides and six rooms on the floor and of one main and two small rooms on either side with side rooms attached to them on the first storey.

Nasir-ul-Din used to live in this pleasure house, during his governorship of Malwa and one night in the year 1511 under an influence of liquor, he drowned himself in one of the receptacles and thus lost his life.

In 1601 or 1602 A. D. Akbar stayed here for a few days, on his return from the Deccan, and during his sojourn here, he built a long and spacious building on the west bank of the river. This building differs from the main Mahal in structure. It is locally called Astabal or stable owing to the fact that the Pindarees, when they made inroads into Malwa, used to occupy this Mahal and to keep their horses in this building.

His late Highness Maharaja Madhav Rao got the Mahal thoroughly repaired and made many additions and alterations to make it quite fit as a palace of a royal personage without marring the grandeur and beauty of the old Mahal. The antique nature of the Mahal is still preserved. The Mahal is reached by an approach road of two miles, joining the Ujjain-Agar road at a distance of 5 miles from Ujjain.

The Secretariat, the Central Jail, the Civil Hospital and the Bohara's Mukarba in Sabzimandi are also well worth a visit.

ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	For.	Read.
2	22	as	As
27	14	belonged	belonged to
31	26	Sthaneswar	Thaneswar
44	11	ailed	sailed
50	Footnote.	(वैभव)	वैभव
81	16	120 B. C.	125 B. C
94	5	life	life'
134	19	below	above
150	8	Nadiwalaya Yautra	Nadi Walaya Yantra